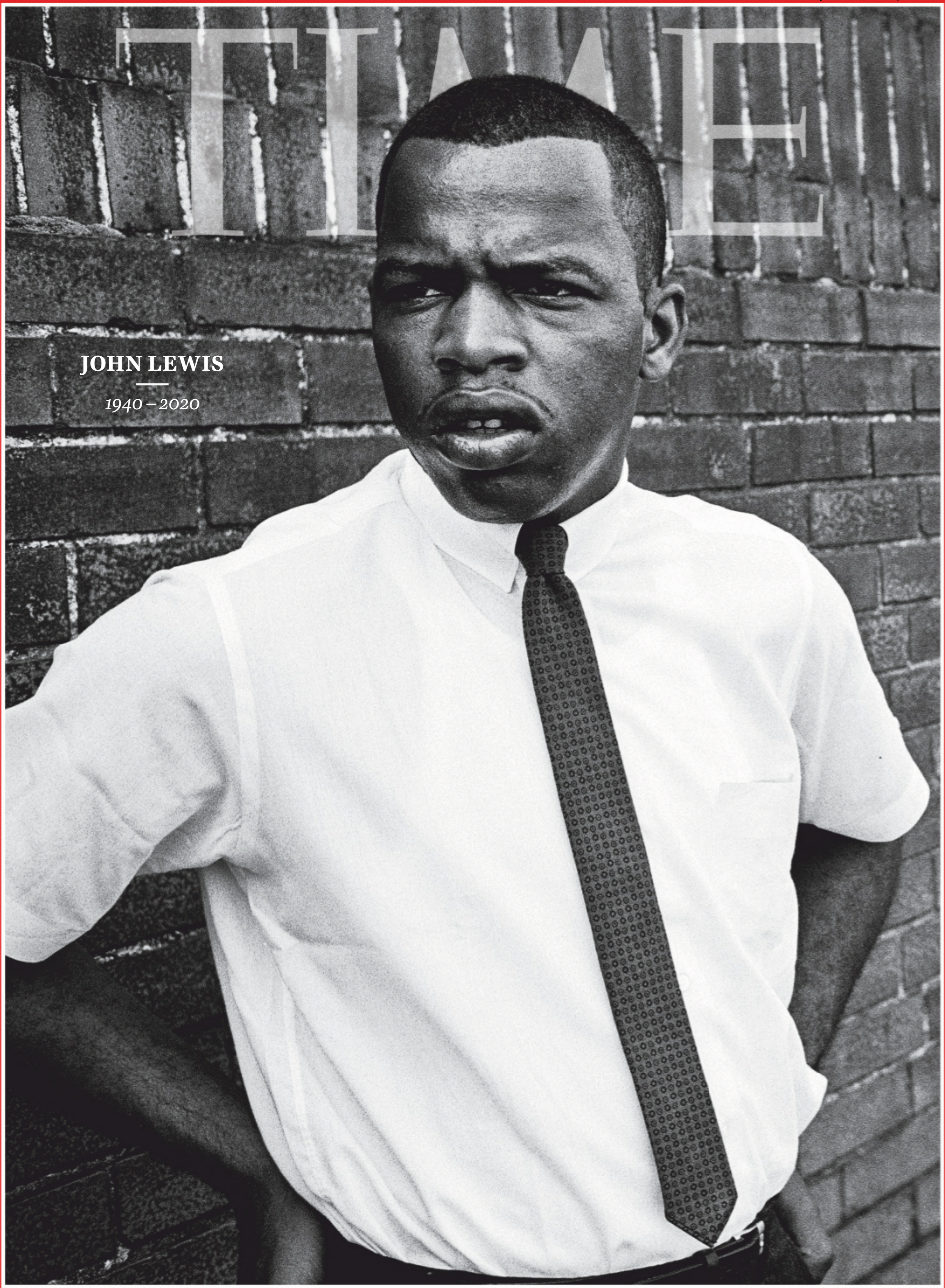
DOUBLE ISSUE

AUG. 3 / AUG. 10, 2020

TIME



JOHN LEWIS

1940 – 2020

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^ *Children line up for school at Wesley Elementary in Middletown, Conn., on July 20*

Photograph by Gillian Laub for TIME

ON THE COVER: *Photograph by Steve Schapiro—Getty Images*

Behind the cover

The photo on the cover of this week's issue shows the late Georgia Congressman John Lewis as a 23-year-old civil rights activist in Clarksdale, Miss., just weeks before he was to speak at the 1963 March on Washington. One of Lewis' favorite photos of himself, it was taken by Steve Schapiro *(above),* who was then on assignment photographing civil rights activists for LIFE magazine. "You see he's looking forward with an enormous amount of strength, in terms of how he sees the future," says Schapiro, now 85 and living in Chicago. "It's a picture of someone who knows who he is, knows what he has to do, and for the rest of his life, after this picture, he did it." Read more about Schapiro's work documenting the civil rights movement at **time.com/john-lewis-cover**

JOHN LEWIS: GOOD TROUBLE

Executive-produced by TIME Studios and directed by Dawn Porter, the new documentary about the life and legacy of John Lewis is now available for streaming. A portion of every rental purchased at **ti.me/2Zva3IE** will go to support the NAACP Legal Defense Fund.

Back in TIME

"Beginning of a Dream"

BY THE TIME JOHN LEWIS DIED, the leader whose legacy is explored in this week's issue was known as "the conscience of Congress." But when he first rose to prominence as a leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), many Americans weren't ready to listen to what he had to say.

Lewis made an early appearance in the pages of TIME in the magazine's coverage of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. As the Sept. 6, 1963, issue reported, Lewis "had planned to deliver a speech scorching President Kennedy's civil rights legislation package as 'too little and too late.'" The draft's promise that Black Americans would march "through the heart of Dixie, the way Sherman did," prompted Washington's Roman Catholic Archbishop as well as other civil rights leaders to ask Lewis to tone down his rhetoric. "He finally gave in, but not very far," TIME noted, of a speech that still moved the audience: "the crowd, most of it standing and packed shoulder to shoulder, began getting restless," but "its attention was caught by" Lewis' "aggressive" words.

Decades later, Lewis recalled that after his indignation faded, the call for compromise offered a lesson on teamwork. You can read more about Lewis' recollection of that moment on page 34. More than a half century later, another observation from the magazine's coverage stands out:

The march on Washington was a triumph. But after everybody agreed on that, the question was: Why?

Hardly in terms of immediate results, since there were none. The battle cry of the march was "Now!" Seas of placards demanded Negro equality—Now! Speakers demanded action—Now! Cried John Lewis … "We want our freedom—and we want it NOW!"

But Now! remained a long way off. It would not come today, tomorrow, next month or next year.

Read more of TIME's coverage from 1963 at **time.com/vault**

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WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT ...

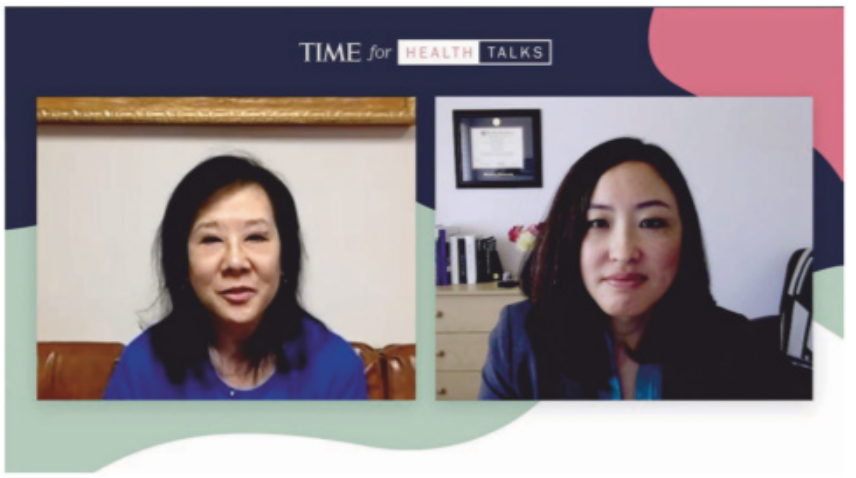
ONE LAST CHANCE Readers concerned for the environment were thrilled that TIME's July 20/July 27 special issue was devoted to climate change. "The earth is speaking to us, [saying] enough is enough ... let me heal," wrote Ira Saltzman of Lincolnwood, Ill. Jim Law of El Cajon, Calif., found Jill Pelto's cover illustration "more powerful than words." Mike Buza of Swartz Creek, Mich., called the issue "a ray of hope" and timely, given that pollution disproportionately affects minority communities. But Kenneth Kuhr of Austin called for more coverage of nuclear power as an alternative energy source. And, referring to the cover line ONE LAST CHANCE, James P. McGill in Reno, Nev., argued "that last chance will come in November," when Americans can vote in politicians supportive of a bold climate agenda.

> *'We need to change humanity before we can save our planet.'*
>
> **RM LAURENS**, Hinsdale, Ill.

WHITE WOMANHOOD In that same issue, Cady Lang's piece on the "Karen" meme and white womanhood struck a chord with real Karens. The meme "insults those of us who actually bear the name," wrote Karen Lindsey in Escondido, Calif. "I was shocked to discover that my name has become associated with white middle-aged women who possess a sense of entitlement, privilege and racism," said Karen Wilson of North Venice, Fla., who said that she had always been happy to have "a name that was devoid of negativity." And Karen Y. Shaffer in Hermitage, Pa., worried the article left an impression that "no white woman should be believed."

> *'I never knew the Karen meme had such a dark backstory.'*
>
> **BILL SPALDING**, South Bend, Ind.

SCHAPIRO: COURTESY STEVE SCHAPIRO; GOOD TROUBLE: DANNY LYON—MAGNUM PHOTOS/COURTESY MAGNOLIA PICTURES; MARCH ON WASHINGTON: ROBERT W. KELLEY—THE LIFE PICTURE COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES; PANDEMIC DREAMS: MAYA EDELMAN FOR TIME



TIME for Health

TIME's new virtual series convenes leading voices in wellness to explore how to live a healthier, more balanced life. Find out about upcoming TIME for Health talks and catch the full slate of programming so far—including an in-depth conversation between TIME's Alice Park *(above left)* and physician-scientist Cheri Mah about how to get the most out of your hours of sleep—at **time.com/health-talks**

DREAM ON Having weird dreams? You're not alone. A Harvard psychology professor's recent survey of 3,800 people worldwide found common themes in 9,000 pandemic-era dreams. Read more about why, and watch an animation of one particularly vivid vision at **time.com/pandemic-dreams**

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PROGRAMMING NOTE This is a special double issue that will be on sale for two weeks. The next issue of TIME will published on Aug. 6 and available on newsstands on Aug. 7.

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT In "A Revolution's Evolution" (July 20/July 27), we misstated who declared a climate emergency in May 2019; the U.K. Parliament declared the emergency.

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‘WE MUST NOT LET COVID-19 DISTRACT US FROM TACKLING OTHER PRESSING HEALTH THREATS.’

DR. MATSHIDISO MOETI,
WHO Africa regional director; the organization reported more than 50 cases of Ebola in the Democratic Republic of Congo’s Équateur province as of July 16

‘They don’t treat us like humans, they don’t even treat us like animals. They treat us like a number.’

RAUL MEDINA PEREZ,
who was held in immigration detention in Colorado for nearly 11 months before being released in July; activists have been working to get detainees released as COVID-19 threatens to spread through federal facilities

$1.8 million

Sale price for a rare LeBron James trading card sold at auction July 18; the card, which shows a rookie James from the 2003–04 season, is the highest-priced basketball card ever sold

‘I have to see. No, I’m not going to just say yes. I’m not going to say no and I didn’t last time either.’

DONALD TRUMP,
U.S. President, refusing to say whether he would accept the results of the November presidential election, in an interview with Fox News that aired July 19

$5

Bonus cash offered by Wisconsin’s Community State Bank for every $100 worth of coins turned in; the offer, launched July 14, comes in the midst of a pandemic-induced coin shortage (the program met its goals in just one week)

‘It truly is a celebration for the whole community.’

ANTONELLA INVERNIZZI,
mayor of Morterone, the smallest village in Italy, after the hamlet’s first birth in eight years, on July 19, brought its population to 29

‘I have often said I would remain a member of the Court as long as I can do the job full steam.’

RUTH BADER GINSBURG,
Supreme Court Justice, in a July 17 statement disclosing that the 87-year-old jurist is receiving chemotherapy to treat a recurrence of cancer

GOOD NEWS *of the week*

A 4-year-old Labrador retriever from Olathe, Kans., went missing, only to show up at her owners’ old home—more than 50 miles away, in Lawson, Mo.—local news reported July 16

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: CNN, THE GUARDIAN, THE NEW YORK TIMES, KMBC NEWS

The Brief

OFF THE JOB
As benefits hang in the balance, people wait at an unemployment-processing event in Tulsa, Okla., on July 15

INSIDE

COLOMBIA'S ARMED GROUPS TAKE ON A SURPRISING TASK

COVID-19 REBOUNDS IN ASIA AND AUSTRALIA

AMERICAN MUSEUMS FACE A SEASON WITHOUT VISITORS

PHOTOGRAPH BY NICK OXFORD

The Brief is reported by Mariah Espada, Alejandro de la Garza, Mélissa Godin, Suyin Haynes, Anna Purna Kambhampaty, Ciara Nugent, Billy Perrigo, Madeline Roache and Olivia B. Waxman

ECONOMY

For the jobless, there's no secure safety net

By Alana Semuels

AS MILLIONS OF AMERICAN JOBS DISAPPEARED over the past few months, in some cases forever, there was one consolation for the newly unemployed. They could receive $600 a week more than usual in unemployment benefits, part of an impromptu safety net created by Congress in the early days of the pandemic to supplement the often meager benefits that people would normally have received.

But that program had a July 31 expiration date, and many desperate situations could become far bleaker if Congress does not extend Federal Pandemic Unemployment Compensation (FPUC), the enhanced unemployment benefits approved in March. In Arkansas, people receiving $681 a week could see that drop to $81 a week. The maximum unemployment benefit in Tennessee could revert to $275 a week. Even where the base support is higher, benefits expire after a set number of weeks—as would an extension. And no one knows how long the pandemic will continue to wreak havoc on the economy.

Megan K. Rocks, a 38-year-old single mother in Athens, Ga., expects to see her weekly income go from $725 to $125. After the events company where Rocks worked as a graphic designer cleared its calendar for the year, the extra $600 a week helped cover rent, car insurance and other bills. It also meant that amid an absence of childcare options, she could stay home with her 11-year-old son. The looming expiration of these benefits leaves Rocks few options. "At this point," she says, "I have no idea what I'm going to do."

IT'S NOT JUST INDIVIDUALS who have benefited from the enhanced safety net; it's the entire economy. The extra unemployment benefits helped bring tens of millions of Americans' earnings up to the average U.S. weekly wage, allowing them to pay for necessities and maybe even spend on extras like school supplies or entertainment. That spending helped support as many as 2.8 million jobs, reducing the unemployment rate by as much as 1.8%, according to the Joint Economic Committee.

Crucially, much of the spending happening right now can be attributed to lower-income individuals. Harvard researchers recently found that people at the bottom of the income ladder are spending nearly as much as they did before the pandemic, while high-income households have dramatically curtailed spending. About 25 million Americans will continue to be unemployed throughout the summer and early fall, according to estimates from the Congressional Budget Office. Without additional unemployment benefits, low-earner spending will plummet, costing even more jobs.

While there are other parts of the safety net that may help some families get by, including food stamps, emergency rental assistance and cash assistance for low-income families with children, the human toll of losing extra unemployment benefits will still be dramatic. People could lose homes; those now able to pay credit-card debt will fall behind; bankruptcies are likely to soar. Already, as local and state eviction moratoriums expire, evictions are on the rise. That situation could worsen if a federal moratorium on evictions from rental properties that have federally backed mortgages is allowed to expire on July 25.

LIKE SO MANY of the impacts of COVID-19, the loss of extra unemployment benefits would be felt most by people of color. Annette Alcala, a 30-year-old Latina server in New York City, fell behind on her bills after the Times Square restaurant where she worked closed in March. She's three months behind on rent and doesn't know how she'll catch up if her benefits drop to $300 a week. "There aren't any jobs available," she says. The unemployment rate in June was 15.4% for Black Americans and 14.5% for Hispanics, compared with 10.1% for white Americans, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Black and Latino workers held many of the service-sector jobs affected by the pandemic. As states slow reopenings and companies keep workers remote, these jobs will remain scarce.

11.1%
U.S. unemployment rate in June

15.4%
June unemployment rate for Black Americans; for Hispanics, it was 14.5%

$235
Mississippi's maximum weekly unemployment benefit

The crisis facing jobless Americans highlights the tangled condition of unemployment insurance in the U.S., where payouts vary drastically from state to state. Florida's maximum unemployment benefit in normal times is $275 a week, but Massachusetts' is $823. The jobless get as little as $37 a week in Indiana and $15 a week in North Carolina, according to 2019 Department of Labor data.

"States can be as stingy as they want," says Michele Evermore, a senior policy analyst at the National Employment Law Project, who says states are starting to program FPUC out of their computer systems. "People's lives will be ruined" without the funds, Evermore says.

Legal advocates are concerned that some families will be driven to take out high-interest loans, which could send them into an endless cycle of poverty. "Even during the best of times, people have a hard time making ends meet," says Kevin De Liban, an attorney at Legal Aid of Arkansas, which is seeing an upswell of worried clients.

People like Sam Nelsen, a single father living near Orlando, are bracing for the worst. He's been unemployed since March after losing his jobs as a bartender and a theme-park concierge and tour guide. Nelsen doesn't know how he'd manage on $275 a week. The extra benefits, he says, "are literally vital to survival." ◻

PREVIOUS PAGE: THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY IMAGES; GALAXY: DAVID BECKER—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

HIGHWAY TO HEAVENS The Milky Way galaxy shines in the night sky above Goldfield, Nev., seen here on July 18. There, a roadside attraction called the International Car Forest of the Last Church was created by Nevada artists Mark Rippie and Chad Sorg starting in 2002—dozens of junked vehicles delicately balanced on end or carefully piled on top of one another. While the artists no longer work together, the "forest" remains in place for visitors—and stargazers.

THE BULLETIN

Armed groups step in to stem COVID-19 in Latin America

COLOMBIA'S PRESIDENT HAS BEGUN easing a stringent COVID-19 lockdown. But his aren't the only rules Colombians have been following. A July 15 report by Human Rights Watch (HRW) said armed groups in a third of the country's 32 states have been enforcing their own lockdowns, often using violence. Analysts say guerrillas and gangs across Latin America have used fighting the virus as a way to strengthen their control of territory. That's making the region's problem of criminal governance even worse.

COVID-19 CONTROL The lack of a strong state presence in remote areas of Colombia allows guerrillas to act as the main authority, while drug gangs control poor regions of Mexico and urban favelas in Brazil. As income-generating activities like trafficking and extortion have become harder during national coronavirus lockdowns, some armed groups have leaned into their role as local governors, says Chris Dalby of the investigative site InSight Crime. "They've taken the opportunity to reaffirm their control."

NEW RULES After COVID-19 started to spread in Latin America in March, gangs in Rio de Janeiro's favelas gave out soap and imposed a curfew. Mexico's Gulf Cartel handed out boxes of food and other supplies. In Colombia, the National Liberation Army and other rebel groups distributed threatening pamphlets listing their quarantine rules. HRW documented at least eight killings of civilians who apparently did not comply from March to June.

LASTING CHANGE The pandemic helped gangs and guerrillas "bolster their legitimacy" by creating the impression they care about the public interest, says Juan Pappier, author of the HRW Colombia report. That may permanently strengthen their control. But perhaps more concerning for regional governments is what comes next. "The levels of poverty that we are going to see after this pandemic will make it very easy to drive people to illegal activities," Pappier says. "That's the best environment for these groups to thrive." —CIARA NUGENT

NEWS TICKER

Pompeo complaint made public

A heavily redacted whistle-blower complaint about alleged misconduct by Secretary of State Mike Pompeo was released July 17. Three congressional committees are investigating Pompeo's part in the May firing of the **State Department Inspector General** who was investigating him.

U.S. to China: close Houston consulate

The U.S. ordered China to close its Houston consulate July 21, **calling it an "epicenter" of an economic espionage and intellectual-property theft campaign,** amid a deepening diplomatic row between the two nations. Beijing said it would retaliate.

Court deals setback to felons' voting

The Supreme Court dealt a blow to voting rights for ex-felons in Florida July 16 by declining to reverse a lower court's order that allowed a law to take effect requiring ex-felons to **pay off all fees, fines and restitution** before voting. The law followed a 2018 referendum in which some 1.4 million people with felony convictions regained their voting rights.

NEWS TICKER

Report: U.K. ignored Russia interference

The U.K. government and intelligence agencies **ignored the threat of Russian interference in the country's democracy,** including during the Brexit referendum, despite indications the U.K. was a target, according to a report released July 21 by British lawmakers. Russia has dismissed the claims.

Ohio speaker arrested in bribery case

Larry Householder, Ohio house speaker, was arrested July 21, along with four others, in a massive federal bribery case. An FBI criminal complaint alleges that an entity controlled by Householder **received $60 million** in exchange for help securing a bailout for two nuclear plants.

Worst rains in decades cause China flooding

Some 40 million people across China have been affected by the nation's worst floods in recent years, **which left at least 141 people dead or missing and damaged some 150,000 homes.** The rains swelled the Yangtze River, raising record water levels on July 19 at the Three Gorges Dam, upriver from the city of Wuhan.

SCIENCE

Unfathomable

New research published July 16 revealed the discovery of 16 species of **"ultra-black" fish,** which seem to disappear in the ocean by trapping 99.5% of the light that hits their surface, allowing them to avoid predators. Here, other ocean mysteries unraveled. —*Madeline Roache*

THE BLOOP
Contrary to popular suggestions, an extremely loud sound heard in the ocean in 1997, known as the Bloop, came not from an unknown animal but from glacial movements, scientists confirmed in 2012.

SAND CIRCLES
More than a decade after discovering circular patterns on the seabed near Japan in 1995, scientists found that the creators were a new species of puffer fish, which make the ornate circles to attract mates.

RED TIDES
Scientists can now forecast the emergence of often harmful red tides around the world, after discovering that among the causes are ocean salinity, wind, temperature and explosive growths in algae.

GOOD QUESTION

What can the world learn from the Asia-Pacific COVID-19 surge?

AS MUCH OF THE REST OF THE WORLD struggled with the coronavirus pandemic, it looked as if many places across Asia and the Pacific had successfully suppressed the virus. In Australia, some experts began talking about eliminating COVID-19 completely. In Tokyo, the government lifted all restrictions on businesses. And in Hong Kong, life had begun to resemble pre-pandemic times—bars and restaurants filled up with patrons, employees largely returned to office buildings, and students went back to school.

But that optimism is now being replaced with renewed lockdowns and social-distancing restrictions as cases across the region tick up again. On July 22 both Hong Kong and the Australian state of Victoria, where Melbourne is located, hit daily highs, with 113 and 484 new cases, respectively. Tokyo broke a single-day record of its own on July 17, with 293 cases.

Experts say resurgences like these are inevitable and should serve as a warning to the rest of the world as it attempts to reopen.

No one likes moving backward, especially to the dreaded lockdown. Victoria, like much of Australia, implemented lockdown restrictions in late March that required most people to stay home except for activities like grocery shopping. Officials began to lift the restrictions in mid-May as cases declined. Then, on July 8, some 5 million people were ordered back into lockdown after COVID-19 cases jumped. Protocol breaches are being blamed, including security guards' reportedly having sex with travelers quarantined in hotels.

For Ellen Sowersby, who lives outside Melbourne, returning to lockdown means facing the stark realization that "we're not going to get back to 'normal' anytime soon," she says.

'Social distancing is still going to be required for some time to come.'

BEN COWLING, professor at the University of Hong Kong, on a lesson of Asia's COVID-19 surge

Hong Kong's coronavirus surge shows that rigorous testing and contact tracing and widespread mask wearing aren't enough; social distancing is needed as well, says Ben Cowling, an infectious-disease epidemiology professor at the University of Hong Kong.

But acting quickly can still squash an emergent outbreak. When a cluster of new coronavirus cases emerged in Beijing in June, authorities said they were entering "wartime mode"—placing neighborhoods under lockdown, closing schools and testing some 11 million residents. On July 19, officials declared the situation under control.

The good news for residents and for the rest of the watching world is that governments are taking the new outbreaks seriously—and ramping up many of the strategies that made them successful in the first place. —AMY GUNIA/HONG KONG

KAREN OSBORN—SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

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Indication & Important Safety Information for OPDIVO® (nivolumab) + YERVOY® (ipilimumab)

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Important Safety Information for OPDIVO + YERVOY

OPDIVO is a medicine that may treat certain cancers by working with your immune system. OPDIVO can cause your immune system to attack normal organs and tissues in any area of your body and can affect the way they work. These problems can sometimes become serious or life-threatening and can lead to death. These problems may happen anytime during treatment or even after your treatment has ended. Some of these problems may happen more often when OPDIVO is used in combination with YERVOY.

YERVOY can cause serious side effects in many parts of your body which can lead to death. These problems may happen anytime during treatment with YERVOY or after you have completed treatment.

Serious side effects may include:

- **Lung problems (pneumonitis).** Symptoms of pneumonitis may include: new or worsening cough; chest pain; and shortness of breath.
- **Intestinal problems (colitis) that can lead to tears or holes in your intestine.** Signs and symptoms of colitis may include: diarrhea (loose stools) or more bowel movements than usual; blood in your stools or dark, tarry, sticky stools; and severe stomach area (abdomen) pain or tenderness.
- **Liver problems (hepatitis).** Signs and symptoms of hepatitis may include: yellowing of your skin or the whites of your eyes; severe nausea or vomiting; pain on the right side of your stomach area (abdomen); drowsiness; dark urine (tea colored); bleeding or bruising more easily than normal; feeling less hungry than usual; and decreased energy.
- **Hormone gland problems (especially the thyroid, pituitary, adrenal glands, and pancreas).** Signs and symptoms that your hormone glands are not working properly may include: headaches that will not go away or unusual headaches; extreme tiredness; weight gain or weight loss; dizziness or fainting; changes in mood or behavior, such as decreased sex drive, irritability, or forgetfulness; hair loss; feeling cold; constipation; voice gets deeper; and excessive thirst or lots of urine.
- **Kidney problems, including nephritis and kidney failure.** Signs of kidney problems may include: decrease in the amount of urine; blood in your urine; swelling in your ankles; and loss of appetite.
- **Skin problems.** Signs of these problems may include: rash; itching; skin blistering; and ulcers in the mouth or other mucous membranes.
- **Inflammation of the brain (encephalitis).** Signs and symptoms of encephalitis may include: headache; fever; tiredness or weakness; confusion; memory problems; sleepiness; seeing or hearing things that are not really there (hallucinations); seizures; and stiff neck.
- **Problems in other organs.** Signs of these problems may include: changes in eyesight; severe or persistent muscle or joint pains; severe muscle weakness; and chest pain.

Additional serious side effects observed during a separate study of YERVOY alone include:

- **Nerve problems that can lead to paralysis.** Symptoms of nerve problems may include: unusual weakness of legs, arms, or face; and numbness or tingling in hands or feet.
- **Eye problems.** Symptoms may include: blurry vision, double vision, or other vision problems; and eye pain or redness.

Get medical help immediately if you develop any of these symptoms or they get worse. It may keep these problems from becoming more serious. Your healthcare team will check you for side effects during treatment and may treat you with corticosteroid or hormone replacement medicines. If you have a serious side effect, your healthcare team may also need to delay or completely stop your treatment.

OPDIVO and OPDIVO + YERVOY can cause serious side effects, including:

- **Severe infusion-related reactions.** Tell your doctor or nurse right away if you get these symptoms during an infusion: chills or shaking; itching or rash; flushing; difficulty breathing; dizziness; fever; and feeling like passing out.

Pregnancy and Nursing:

- Tell your healthcare provider if you are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. OPDIVO and YERVOY can harm your unborn baby. If you are a female who is able to become pregnant, your healthcare provider should do a pregnancy test before you start receiving OPDIVO. Females who are able to become pregnant should use an effective method of birth control during and for at least 5 months after the last dose. Talk to your healthcare provider about birth control methods that you can use during this time. Tell your healthcare provider right away if you become pregnant or think you are pregnant during treatment. You or your healthcare provider should contact Bristol Myers Squibb at 1-800-721-5072 as soon as you become aware of the pregnancy.
- Pregnancy Safety Surveillance Study: Females who become pregnant during treatment with YERVOY are encouraged to enroll in a Pregnancy Safety Surveillance Study. The purpose of this study is to collect information about the health of you and your baby. You or your healthcare provider can enroll in the Pregnancy Safety Surveillance Study by calling 1-844-593-7869.
- Before receiving treatment, tell your healthcare provider if you are breastfeeding or plan to breastfeed. It is not known if either treatment passes into your breast milk. Do not breastfeed during treatment and for 5 months after the last dose.

Tell your healthcare provider about:

- Your health problems or concerns if you: have immune system problems such as autoimmune disease, Crohn's disease, ulcerative colitis, lupus, or sarcoidosis; have had an organ transplant; have lung or breathing problems; have liver problems; or have any other medical conditions.
- All the medicines you take, including prescription and over-the-counter medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements.

The most common side effects of OPDIVO, when used in combination with YERVOY, include: feeling tired; diarrhea; rash; itching; nausea; pain in muscles, bones, and joints, fever; cough; decreased appetite; vomiting; stomach-area (abdominal) pain; shortness of breath; upper respiratory tract infection; headache; low thyroid hormone levels (hypothyroidism); decreased weight; and dizziness.

These are not all the possible side effects. For more information, ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist. Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Please see Important Facts for OPDIVO and YERVOY, including Boxed WARNING for YERVOY regarding immune-mediated side effects, on the following page.

Bristol Myers Squibb™

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IMPORTANT FACTS

The information below does not take the place of talking with your healthcare professional. Only your healthcare professional knows the specifics of your condition and how OPDIVO® (nivolumab) in combination with YERVOY® (ipilimumab) may fit into your overall therapy. Talk to your healthcare professional if you have any questions about OPDIVO (pronounced op-DEE-voh) and YERVOY (pronounced yur-voi).

℞ ONLY

What is the most important information I should know about OPDIVO (nivolumab) and YERVOY (ipilimumab)?

OPDIVO and YERVOY are medicines that may treat certain cancers by working with your immune system. OPDIVO and YERVOY can cause your immune system to attack normal organs and tissues in any area of your body and can affect the way they work. These problems can sometimes become serious or life-threatening and can lead to death and may happen anytime during treatment or even after your treatment has ended. Some of these problems may happen more often when OPDIVO is used in combination with YERVOY.

YERVOY can cause serious side effects in many parts of your body which can lead to death. These problems may happen anytime during treatment with YERVOY or after you have completed treatment.

Call or see your healthcare provider right away if you develop any symptoms of the following problems or these symptoms get worse. Do not try to treat symptoms yourself.

Lung problems (pneumonitis). Symptoms of pneumonitis may include:

- new or worsening cough
- chest pain
- shortness of breath

Intestinal problems (colitis) that can lead to tears or holes in your intestine. Signs and symptoms of colitis may include:

- diarrhea (loose stools) or more bowel movements than usual
- mucus or blood in your stools or dark, tarry, sticky stools
- stomach-area (abdomen) pain or tenderness
- you may or may not have fever

Liver problems (hepatitis) that can lead to liver failure. Signs and symptoms of hepatitis may include:

- yellowing of your skin or the whites of your eyes
- nausea or vomiting
- pain on the right side of your stomach area (abdomen)
- drowsiness
- dark urine (tea colored)
- bleeding or bruising more easily than normal
- feeling less hungry than usual
- decreased energy

Hormone gland problems (especially the thyroid, pituitary, and adrenal glands; and pancreas). Signs and symptoms that your hormone glands are not working properly may include:

- headaches that will not go away or unusual headaches
- extreme tiredness or unusual sluggishness
- weight gain or weight loss
- dizziness or fainting
- changes in mood or behavior, such as decreased sex drive, irritability, or forgetfulness
- hair loss
- feeling cold
- constipation
- voice gets deeper
- excessive thirst or lots of urine

Kidney problems, including nephritis and kidney failure. Signs of kidney problems may include:

- decrease in the amount of urine
- blood in your urine
- swelling in your ankles
- loss of appetite

Skin Problems. Signs of these problems may include:

- skin rash with or without itching
- itching
- skin blistering or peeling
- sores or ulcers in mouth or other mucous membranes

Inflammation of the brain (encephalitis). Signs and symptoms of encephalitis may include:

- headache
- fever
- tiredness or weakness
- confusion
- memory problems
- sleepiness
- seeing or hearing things that are not really there (hallucinations)
- seizures
- stiff neck

Problems in other organs. Signs of these problems may include:

- changes in eyesight
- severe or persistent muscle or joint pains
- severe muscle weakness
- chest pain

Additional serious side effects observed during a separate study of YERVOY (ipilimumab) alone include:

Nerve problems that can lead to paralysis. Symptoms of nerve problems may include:

- unusual weakness of legs, arms, or face
- numbness or tingling in hands or feet

Eye problems. Symptoms may include:

- blurry vision, double vision, or other vision problems
- eye pain or redness

Get medical help immediately if you develop any of these symptoms or they get worse. It may keep these problems from becoming more serious. Your healthcare team will check you for side effects during treatment and may treat you with corticosteroid or hormone replacement medicines. If you have a serious side effect, your healthcare team may also need to delay or completely stop your treatment with OPDIVO (nivolumab) and YERVOY.

What are OPDIVO and YERVOY?

OPDIVO and YERVOY are prescription medicines used to treat adults with a type of advanced stage lung cancer called non-small cell lung cancer (NSCLC). OPDIVO may be used in combination with YERVOY as your first treatment for NSCLC:

- when your lung cancer has spread to other parts of your body (metastatic), and
- your tumors are positive for PD-L1, but do not have an abnormal EGFR or ALK gene.

It is not known if OPDIVO and YERVOY are safe and effective when used in children younger than 18 years of age.

What should I tell my healthcare provider before receiving OPDIVO and YERVOY?

Before you receive OPDIVO and YERVOY, tell your healthcare provider if you:

- have immune system problems (autoimmune disease) such as Crohn's disease, ulcerative colitis, lupus, or sarcoidosis
- have had an organ transplant
- have lung or breathing problems
- have liver problems
- have any other medical conditions
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. OPDIVO and YERVOY can harm your unborn baby. **Females who are able to become pregnant:**

  Your healthcare provider should do a pregnancy test before you start receiving OPDIVO and YERVOY.
  - You should use an effective method of birth control during and for at least 5 months after the last dose. Talk to your healthcare provider about birth control methods that you can use during this time.
  - Tell your healthcare provider right away if you become pregnant or think you are pregnant during treatment. You or your healthcare provider should contact Bristol Myers Squibb at 1-800-721-5072 as soon as you become aware of the pregnancy.
  - **Pregnancy Safety Surveillance Study:** Females who become pregnant during treatment with YERVOY (ipilimumab) are encouraged to enroll in a Pregnancy Safety Surveillance Study. The purpose of this study is to collect information about the health of you and your baby. You or your healthcare provider can enroll in the Pregnancy Safety Surveillance Study by calling 1-844-593-7869.
- are breastfeeding or plan to breastfeed. It is not known if OPDIVO (nivolumab) or YERVOY passes into your breast milk. **Do not** breastfeed during treatment and for 5 months after the last dose.

Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines you take, including prescription and over-the-counter medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements.

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of them to show your healthcare providers and pharmacist when you get a new medicine.

What are the possible side effects of OPDIVO and YERVOY?

OPDIVO and YERVOY can cause serious side effects, including:

- **See "What is the most important information I should know about OPDIVO and YERVOY?"**
- **Severe infusion reactions**. Tell your doctor or nurse right away if you get these symptoms during an infusion of OPDIVO or YERVOY:
  - chills or shaking
  - itching or rash
  - flushing
  - difficulty breathing
  - dizziness
  - fever
  - feeling like passing out

The most common side effects of OPDIVO when used in combination with YERVOY include:

- feeling tired
- diarrhea
- rash
- itching
- nausea
- pain in muscles, bones, and joints
- fever
- cough
- decreased appetite
- vomiting
- stomach-area (abdominal) pain
- shortness of breath
- upper respiratory tract infection
- headache
- low thyroid hormone levels (hypothyroidism)
- decreased weight
- dizziness

These are not all the possible side effects of OPDIVO and YERVOY. Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

This is a brief summary of the most important information about OPDIVO and YERVOY. For more information, talk with your healthcare provider, call 1-855-673-4861, or go to www.OPDIVO.com.

Manufactured by:
Bristol-Myers Squibb Company
Princeton, New Jersey 08543 USA

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May 2020
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Vivian at home in Atlanta in 2016

KEVIN D. LILES—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

DIED

C.T. Vivian

Civil rights stalwart

CORDY TINDELL "C.T." VIVIAN WAS STUDYING history at Western Illinois University when he dropped out to make history instead. A minister, a friend of Martin Luther King Jr.'s and a key organizer in the civil rights movement of the 1960s, Vivian died on July 17 at the age of 95, the same day as longtime Georgia Congressman and fellow activist John Lewis.

In a movement in which young people like Lewis played a large role, Vivian represented an older generation that had laid many of its stepping-stones. It was the experience of growing up in Macomb, Ill., during the Great Depression that ignited his passion for economic justice. When he left college and went on to participate in a sit-in that led to the successful integration of a Peoria, Ill., eatery, it was only 1947—more than a full decade before the famous sit-in at the Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, N.C.

Vivian honed his studies of nonviolence and strengthened his connections to the movement as a seminary student in Nashville in the late 1950s. In the years that followed, his life was a study in the reality that even those dedicated to nonviolence were forced to put those strategies to use in violent situations. In 1961, at the end of the Freedom Rides to challenge segregation on interstate buses, Vivian was beaten by Mississippi prison guards. And on Feb. 16, 1965, outside a Selma courthouse, Vivian compared notorious sheriff Jim Clark to Hitler; TV cameras captured Clark punching Vivian in the face. "We're willing to be beaten for democracy," Vivian hollered back. Two days later, he led a peaceful march in Marion, Ala., where a state trooper beat and shot civil rights activist Jimmie Lee Jackson. (Jackson died of his injuries.) The media coverage of these assaults on Black people helped persuade Republican politicians to call for federal legislation on voting rights.

Vivian didn't stop there. His status as a pioneer was complemented by the remarkable longevity of his activism. In 2013, President Barack Obama awarded Vivian the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor, hailing him as "still in the action, pushing us closer to our founding ideals." —OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

SUSPENDED
Britain's **extradition treaty** with Hong Kong, on July 20, in response to a new security law that the U.K. says will curtail freedoms in the former colony.

ESTIMATED
That **polar bears** will be all but extinct by 2100, because of the effects of climate change, per research published July 20.

CHARGED
A **St. Louis couple,** with felony unlawful use of a weapon, on July 20, after they were filmed pointing guns at protesters.

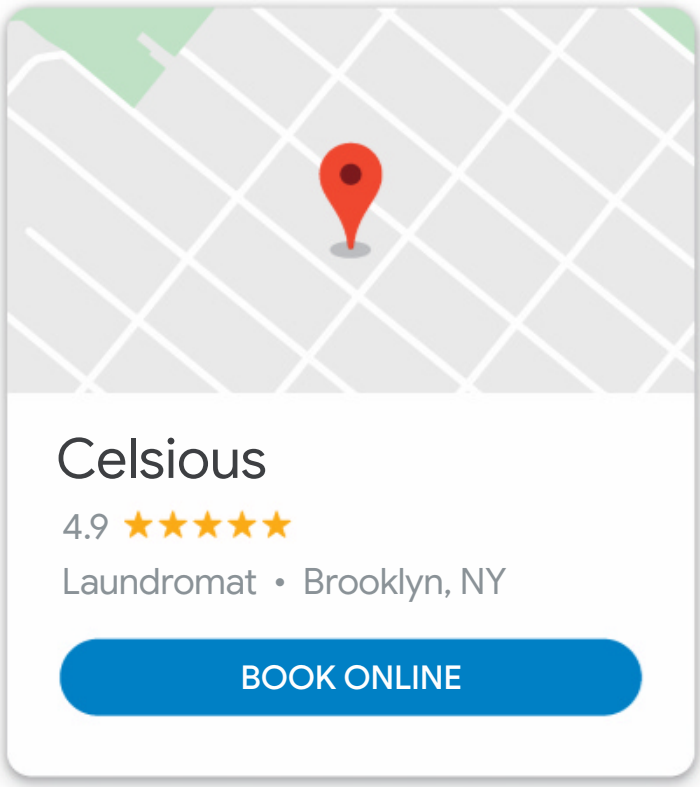
WARNED
By the Jacksonville, Fla., sheriff, on July 20, that his department wasn't prepared to provide security to the **Republican National Convention** in August, after keynote events were moved there from Charlotte, N.C., following a dispute over COVID-19 safety measures.

FILED
A lawsuit, by Georgia Governor **Brian Kemp,** on July 16, against Atlanta Mayor Keisha Lance Bottoms, over the city's COVID-19 mask requirement.

ORDERED
The Trump Administration, to accept **new DACA applications,** by a judge on July 17, after the Supreme Court blocked efforts to end the program.

ARGUED
That poor diets in the U.S. **threaten national security,** by the Federal Nutrition Research Advisory Group, in a July 20 paper.

Helping local businesses adapt to a new way of working



Google

When New York issued its stay-at-home order, Celsious founders Corinna and Theresa Williams knew they had to think of a new way of doing business.

They quickly shifted to drop-offs only, and enabled online booking through Google. In addition to helping Celsious remain open, it also allowed them to set aside dedicated drop-off times for local first responders and the immunocompromised, helping keep these groups safe.

Find free resources for your small business at **g.co/smallbusiness**

The uncertain future of places that preserve America's past

By Olivia B. Waxman

Top: ***Ford's Theatre*** *in Washington, D.C., seen in the 1920s*

Right: An image of ***The House of the Seven Gables,*** *a 1668 home in Salem, Mass., in the 1930s*

THANKS TO THE CITY'S INFAMOUS WITCH TRIALS, THE historic homes and gardens on the Salem, Mass., waterfront usually get about a third of their annual visitors in the Halloween season. But the COVID-19 pandemic and resulting lockdowns have created a scary situation for these places: most of the rest of their visitors arrive in the spring and summer. Thanks to the pandemic, this year's busy time has been a wash, and it's not looking like the fall will be much different.

At the site of Salem's The House of the Seven Gables and Nathaniel Hawthorne's birthplace, tickets and gift-shop sales made up more than 80% of revenue in 2019. That money doesn't just keep the home open for visitors; it also keeps an essential organ of the community running. Without it, the organization's English-language and citizenship-prep classes as well as summer programs for kids—parts of a century-old immigrant-assistance project—are at risk. The institution is trying to work out whether it can host tours small enough to allow social distancing in the two historic homes. Otherwise, Kara McLaughlin, executive director of The House of the Seven Gables Settlement Association, says, "I don't see us being able to open our buildings for the foreseeable future, or until there is some sort of treatment or vaccine."

Many of her colleagues are in the same boat—and in this historic period in American life, the sites that preserve the nation's history are in jeopardy. Based on a survey of 760 museum directors released July 22, the American Alliance of Museums says one-third of institutions are not confident that they will survive past the next 16 months, and the same portion expect to lose 40% or more of their budgeted operating income for 2020. More than half (56%) have less than six months of operating reserves. Already museums are losing at least $33 million a day.

Gone are galas. Shops and cafés sit shuttered. Donations are often earmarked for restricted use; Trudy Coxe, CEO and executive director of Rhode Island's The Preservation Society of Newport County, says the group had to lay off 69% of its staff after it couldn't redirect funds meant to repair a roof. Tourists have stopped touring. Ford's Theatre in Washington, D.C., where Abraham Lincoln was assassinated, estimates it lost $4 million in revenue by being closed all spring, which includes the cherry-blossom season; since reopening, the Buffalo Bill Center of the West in Cody, Wyo., is operating with half its usual visitors, on average. Even with federal help in the form of the Paycheck Protection Program and the CARES Act, small and midsize museums often run on thin margins.

"The impact of current financial crisis as a result of the pandemic is worse than anything we have seen, certainly that I have seen in my 20-plus-year career in nonprofit finance," says Laura Lott, president and CEO of the American Alliance of Museums.

These places serve as both community spaces and repositories for memory

That doesn't mean museums are giving up. In Salem, that's meant adding a fee to access the gardens, and institutions around the U.S. are seeking their own ways to ensure historic sites stay central to their communities for years to come.

IN A MOMENT of crisis, a small museum can easily be an afterthought. One July poll found that only a third of Americans were concerned about local museums, compared with three-fourths concerned about local restaurants and other businesses. And yet, if these sites don't make it, the loss will run deep.

Museums exert an enormous economic impact: in an ordinary year, more people go to them than to major-league

Below: ***The Breakers****—Cornelius Vanderbilt II's Newport, R.I., mansion—in 1914*

Above: Philadelphia's ***Paul Robeson House and Museum,*** *in 2020*

sports and theme parks combined. Annually, they contribute $50 billion to the U.S. economy, boast more than 726,000 jobs and generate $12 billion in tax revenue. Small museums are a key part of that equation. About 70% of U.S. museums and related organizations are history-focused; per the American Association for State and Local History, about a quarter of the roughly 25,000 history organizations in the U.S. operate on less than $50,000 annually.

Less tangibly but no less importantly, these places serve as both community spaces and repositories for memory. For individuals, museums are vital for researching family and local history. More broadly, at a time of national reckoning with history, they can provide context for the moment. Some have begun collecting materials to tell the story of COVID-19, and others are key in recognizing the contributions of minority groups to American history.

"The preservation of African-American cultural assets signifies that Black people matter," says Brent Leggs, executive director of the National Trust for Historic Preservation's African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund, a preservation campaign on behalf of Black cultural-heritage sites. "Our nation has preserved sites associated with wealthy industrialists, plantation owners, former Presidents, but the preservation of America's diverse history has been neglected and hasn't received the recognition that it deserves."

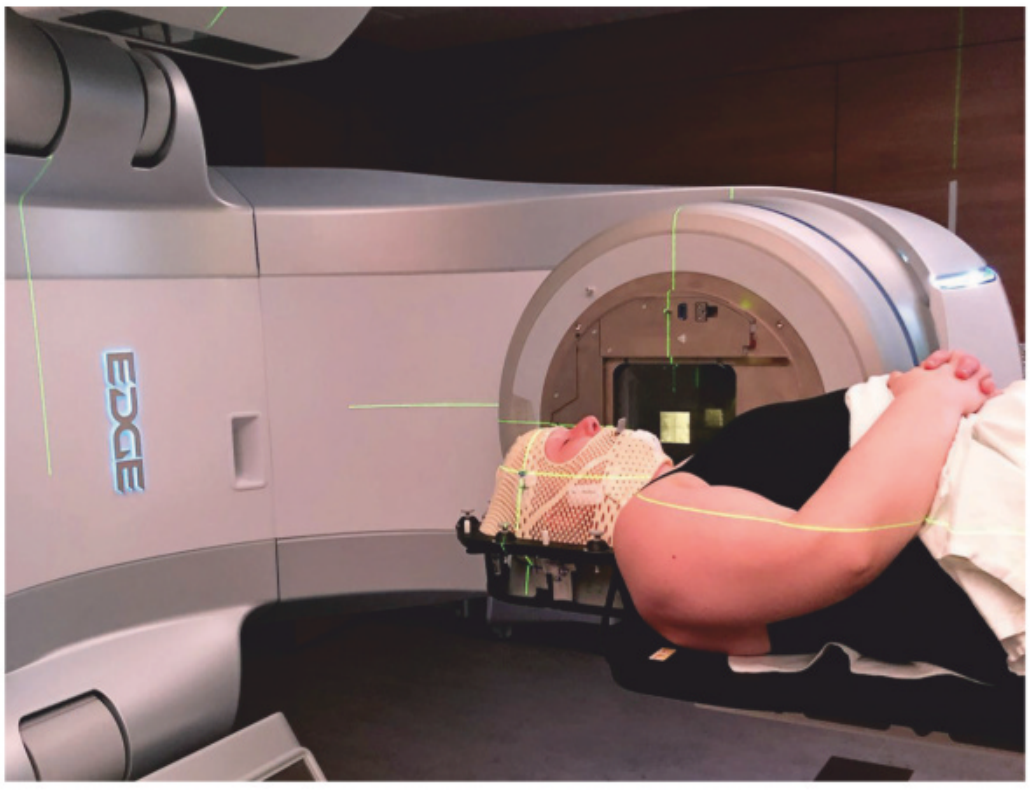
FOR THE PEOPLE who keep these museums running, being forced to stay closed during a swelling of national interest in history is frustrating—but within that irony may lie the seeds of sites' salvation.

Some museum directors are hoping the decline in travel will reinforce the fact that the institutions aren't just for tourists. John Krawchuk, executive director of the Historic House Trust of New York City, a network of 23 historic sites, hopes the organization will benefit from visitors taking excursions closer to home. In Rhode Island, the Preservation Society of Newport County argues that the spacious seaside mansions of Gilded Age tycoons make an ideal spot for socially distant visiting.

Meanwhile, those who work to preserve the history of America's diversity hope that the ongoing global conversation about race will lead to support for the chronically underfunded sites and museums that tell the stories of Black America. In Philadelphia, the Paul Robeson House and Museum and The Colored Girls Museum reached a $100,000 crowdfunding goal in a week and a half via 2,500 donors, riding on momentum generated by recent Black Lives Matter protests. Leggs, the African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund's director, says online donations to his fund are also up. To help the Paul Robeson House and Museum and other Black cultural-heritage sites provide context for the current movement, on July 16 the fund doled out $1.6 million in grants to 27 sites and organizations.

Similarly, the Museum of African American History in Boston—which received a $1 million grant from Liberty Mutual Foundation on July 15 to continue organizing virtual programming that puts the current movement in context—has been "deluged" with requests to set up virtual panels, curate reading lists and guide schools and companies on talking to employees about the history of systemic racism, says president and CEO Leon Wilson. The protests, he says, caught the museum "right in the middle of an opportunity." Even as this moment leaves many museums facing an existential crisis, those that survive aim to make the most of it. ◻

FORD'S THEATRE: BUYENLARGE/GETTY IMAGES; THE HOUSE OF THE SEVEN GABLES: ALAMY;
THE BREAKERS: BETTMANN ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES; PAUL ROBESON HOUSE AND MUSEUM: PURNELL T. CROPPER



Geib undergoing radiation therapy in July to treat cancer that has spread to her brain

The clinical trials cancer patients rely on are disappearing

By Alice Park

TORI GEIB WAS ALREADY ON HIGH ALERT WHEN COVID-19 hit last winter. Diagnosed with metastatic breast cancer in 2016, the Ohio chef went from one chemotherapy regimen to another in an effort to outrun the cancer that had spread from her breast to her bones, lungs and liver. To protect herself from infections, even before the pandemic she often wore masks when she went out in public and carried hand sanitizer at all times. But COVID-19 presented a new and daunting challenge.

At some point, Geib knew, she would exhaust all approved treatment options and would need to move to experimental therapies. But when COVID-19 began to burden hospitals, many suspended clinical trials. "It made what limited options I had even more limited," she says. "When your cancer is growing and progressing, you want to know what the next thing is that you will have access to. COVID-19 brought in a new fear: Will that research or trial be there when I need it?"

Three months ago, Geib learned her cancer had progressed, so she again changed to a different chemotherapy. At the end of June, she learned the cancer had spread to her brain, so she received radiation treatment. She is also taking another off-label therapy while waiting for more clinical trials to become available near where she lives. "I'm trying to navigate the system and find the next thing I need to go to."

Estimates of how many cancer patients enroll in clinical trials range from 2% to 8%. But since the pandemic began, the National Cancer Institute (NCI), which sponsors many cancer trials in the U.S., says enrollment in trials has dropped by about 10% each month. The potential impact is profound. "First, it's a missed opportunity for patients to actually avail themselves of participating in a clinical trial if the trial is on hold or temporarily suspended or even closed," says Dr. Richard Schilsky, chief medical officer and executive vice president of the American Society of Clinical Oncology. "The longer[-term] impact is that the time to complete trials is going to be longer than originally planned because enrollment has taken a big dip for a period of months, and it will take time to make that up. That means it will take longer to get an answer to a trial and longer to potentially bring new therapies to patients."

With limited resources, many study sites decided to triage their clinical trials, suspending early-phase studies, in which the benefit of the experimental treatment is largely unknown, in favor of keeping later-stage studies, which test treatments that have already shown some promise. "All of these decisions are based on benefit-risk assessment," says Schilsky. "What is the risk of interrupting, delaying or discontinuing a patient on a cancer treatment, especially if they have an aggressive, rapidly progressive cancer, vs. the risk of continuing treatments that require them to come into a health care facility for frequent visits, risking exposure to COVID-19 infection?"

10%

Factor by which cancer-trial enrollment has fallen every month during the pandemic

NORMALLY, STUDY CONDITIONS require patients to come to the trial site to receive their medications along with instructions on how to take them. To keep some trials going during the pandemic, the Food and Drug Administration and the NCI worked to allow study sponsors to ship experimental therapies directly to patients. Similarly, virtual checkups replaced in-person visits when possible, further reducing COVID-19 risk for trial participants.

Time will tell how those changes affect the results of clinical trials; for example, it's possible the lack of medical oversight will affect compliance with taking medications. But Schilsky notes there may be a silver lining. "Many of the adaptations make it easier for patients to participate in clinical trials," he says. "So if they work, there may be no reason to go back to the old way of doing things. Hopefully the adaptations made during the pandemic will position us to do clinical trials more effectively than they've been done in the past and ultimately open them up to more patients." ☐

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Travel guru **Rick Steves** finds surprising joy staying in one place

By Raisa Bruner

THIS SUMMER, I TRAVELED. THERE WERE SUN-soaked Italian hill towns; a sleepy Portuguese fishing village; a musty, centuries-old timber church in Romania. I saw it all from my couch, or sometimes the faded hammock on the porch. And I did it under the gentle narration of Rick Steves, the unassuming travel magnate whose childlike wonder and irreverent curiosity, seen in decades of cheap and cheerful guidebooks and travel TV shows, have introduced multiple generations of tourists to the charms of small museums and the pleasures of a walking tour.

Now, with the coronavirus pandemic making international travel obsolete, Steves—just like the rest of us—has been staying home. "You can't go to Europe? Poor boy," he reminds himself with a burst of laughter. "From my point of view, my life has been on an amazing trajectory until three months ago—too good to be true." It's the first time in 30 years that Steves is spending the summer in his hometown of Edmonds, Wash. Steves is on the road for more than four months in a given year, mostly in Europe. As the leader of one of the most successful U.S. travel franchises—it was on track to host 35,000 tourists for its 2020 guided tours—it has been hit hard by the global pandemic.

In the meantime, Steves has rediscovered what it means to hear birds in the morning. He's brushed off his old trumpet and plays a nightly rendition of taps for the neighborhood as the sun sets over the Pacific. He's learning to love his partner's dogs, to chop vegetables, and to travel—as he puts it—from home. "That mindset when I'm traveling, to sit on a bench and watch the moon rise over the Alps?" he explains. "We have moonrises here also."

Travel is sensory, but it is also, as Steves has preached for decades, inherently political. It's this connection to the broader world—the needs of his local community, the political crisis facing America and the grander global challenges ahead—that fuels him now. "When people say, 'God bless America,' I say, As opposed to what? God not bless Canada? It makes no sense to me. This is not a high school football game. We don't just root for our team," he says. "The challenges confronting us from here on out are global and need to be addressed in a global mindset. You can't build a wall and say, 'Desperation here, happy rich people there.'"

Rick Steves' Europe is an empire, with 100 U.S.-based employees and 150 freelance tour guides around the world. He hosts tours, publishes guidebooks, speaks at events and broadcasts TV specials. Rick Steves the person, however, is a dad. He's a little silly. His hair is a little long. His kitchen, where he works, is decorated with a generic travel poster advertising the joys of Tuscany.

But behind this affable persona lies a steely, decades-long ambition. Born in Edmonds to a family of piano importers, Steves disappeared to Europe as a teenage backpacker—and pretty much never looked back, hosting scrappy tours for young people, giving travel seminars in Washington State and self-publishing his first guidebook, *Europe Through the Back Door,* in 1979. Today *Rick Steves' Europe* books make up 25 of the 30 top-selling guidebooks in the U.S., and his dozens of annual tours make millions of dollars.

Not that this status helps him now. The pandemic has slashed the travel and tourism industry; estimates project a 35% global downturn in 2020. Steves predicts revenues of "practically zero" for his year ahead and is cautious about making any plans to return until business can go back to usual. He is committed to retaining his full-time staff, reducing their hours and pay while continuing their health care. It's tough in a business based on volume. "For things to work in my world, you gotta pack the house, you gotta pack the plane, you gotta pack the hotel, you gotta pack the restaurant, you gotta pack the tour bus. Social distancing is just not a part of that equation," he says. "When I go to France, I want to be kissed on both cheeks, three times."

ON MY FAMILY'S FIRST TRIP to Europe, a Steves book was our bible to choosing tiny trattorias, and his videos were our primers to navigating the twisting steps of the Cinque Terre. Nearly 25 years later, listless in quarantine, my family turned to Steves once again, playing episodes of his namesake show to while away the quiet evenings. "Remember that bruschetta?" we asked one another, watching Steves luxuriate in the flavor of tomatoes and garlic on fresh bread. "We were there too!" Watching Steves now is like peeking into a time capsule of a reality we didn't realize was ending. Steves seems to live in a Europe untouched by the hordes of contemporary tourism, his optimism unmarred by the darkness of today's politics or the superficiality of our consumerism.

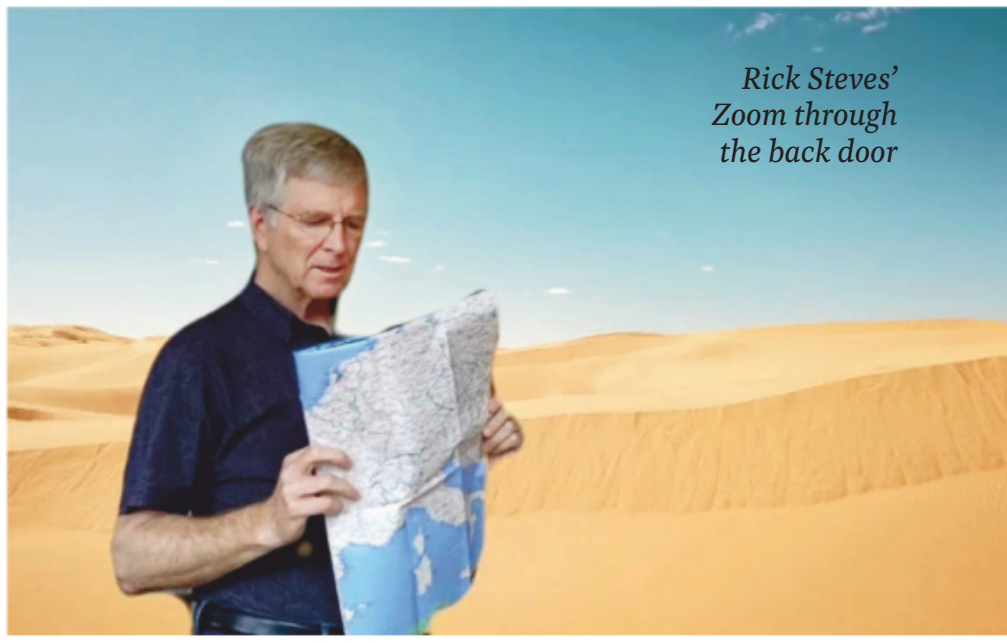
Yet Steves is intimately aware of historical and present realities. One travel special explores fascism in Europe—something that, he thinks, has lessons even more applicable now. "I don't think America does a very good job of learning from history," he says. "When I was younger, I wanted to hurl people out of their comfort zones. All I had

STEVES QUICK FACTS

All for Europe
His books include guides to 28 European countries, a new series of travel essays and phrase books for five languages—although Steves speaks only English fluently.

Local advocate
He staged a daily sit-in and wrote an op-ed to turn a local traffic circle near his home into a European-style piazza.

Next up
His fall show will start with an episode called "Why We Travel." "It's not as genius as Shakespeare, but it reads like a love poem to travel."



SANGSUK SYLVIA KANG FOR TIME; GETTY IMAGES (4)

was a baggie of Valium to help people calm down," he says with a bright laugh, referring to his early days as a tour guide leading small groups to funky hostels. "Now you support somebody, you hold their hand." All of this, he insists, is connected to building a better world. "If I was to measure profit, it is on how transformational the travel is that I offer. That's profit. If I look at a Trump rally, I would love to have a busful of those people on a bus in Europe. Because that would make my work more productive."

Productivity hasn't stalled for Steves in isolation. He recently finalized an Egypt special and published a book of nostalgic essays about Europe. He also doubled down on his philanthropy, pledging millions of dollars to offset climate change, address global hunger and support his hometown. He is a longtime campaigner for the decriminalization of marijuana in the U.S., a cause he sees as deeply tied to the structural inequalities that have reared up so visibly in recent months. "It's not because I'm a pothead but because I think the laws are racist, nonproductive, anti–civil liberties, anti–states' rights," he lists off. He is donating and helping raise money to improve voter access in the South.

'The main thing for us to do right now—and what America is flunking at—is being patient.'

RICK STEVES, on the COVID-19 pandemic

He's also sitting still, watching the hummingbirds that flock to his bird feeder. "The main thing for us to do right now—and what America is flunking at—is being patient. Being diligent, embracing science, respecting the needs of the greater community," he says. This summer he would have been meeting the family of his daughter's fiancé on a three-week trip. It would have been his first real European vacation in 30 years, guided by his son.

But if even Steves can stay home and refocus his attention, well, maybe that's a lesson for us all. "I always say, 'If it's not to your liking, change your liking.' Be in that group that loves it while we stay home," he urges. The TV shows, the books, and the blog posts and flashbacks: these things will carry us through. "When you travel, all you're doing is racking up these huge banks of memories and experiences. I was walking home the other day and saw a little snail on someone's fence," he recalls, smiling, "and all I could think of was escargots." ☐

LightBox

NATION

A battle for Main Street

WHEN THE DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND Security (DHS) was formed in the wake of Sept. 11, the agency was given a mandate to protect federal property. That little-known power was put to perhaps surprising use this July as the Trump Administration called out federal forces in the name of protecting facilities in several cities, including Portland, Ore.

But scenes of federal agents using tear gas and projectiles on protesters at a federal courthouse—and forcing people into unmarked vehicles—led local officials in Oregon and legal experts across the U.S. to say Trump has gone too far.

As protests against racism pass the two-month mark, Portland Mayor Ted Wheeler said the forces have escalated tensions in his city and called them Trump's "personal army." Viral videos of protesters encountering the agents have increased the pressure, though Mark Morgan, the acting commissioner of Customs and Border Protection, which falls under DHS, told TIME that the notion that the mere presence of federal officers incites violence is "idiotic" and "absurd" and that agents stormed out of the courthouse only after protesters attacked them and the building.

"Every American should be repulsed when they see this happening," Oregon attorney general Ellen Rosenblum said. "If this can happen here in Portland, it can happen anywhere." Having already said that he wants to expand the use of federal forces to other cities "run by liberal Democrats," President Trump seems to agree.

—BRIAN BENNETT

Federal agents use crowd-control measures near Portland's Mark O. Hatfield U.S. Courthouse on July 20

PHOTOGRAPH BY NOAH BERGER—AP

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HEALTH

A PANDEMIC OF MISINFORMATION

By Jeffrey Kluger

When it comes to COVID-19, the Internet is equal parts encyclopedia and junkyard. Distinguishing between solid science and utter fabulism is not always easy, and far too often the rubbish is quickly and widely disseminated, creating a ripple effect of falsehoods that can misinform people and endanger lives.

INSIDE

PUTIN FACES POPULIST UNREST IN THE EAST

30 YEARS OF THE AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT

HOW TO LOOK (AND SOUND) YOUR BEST ON VIDEO CALLS

The View is reported by Leslie Dickstein

It's impossible to keep the Internet free of such trash, but in theory it ought not be quite as hard to confine it to the fever swamps where it originates. A new paper in *Psychological Science* explores not only why people believe Internet falsehoods but also how to help them become more discerning about what they share. One of the leading reasons misinformation about COVID-19 gains traction is that it's a topic that scares the daylights out of us. The more emotional valence something we read online has, the likelier we are to pass it on. "Emotion makes people less discerning," says David Rand, associate professor at the MIT School of Management and a co-author of the study. "When it comes to COVID-19, people who are closer to the epicenter of the disease are likelier to share information online, whether it's true or false."

That's in keeping with earlier research out of MIT, published in 2018, showing that fake news spreads faster on Twitter than does the truth. The reason, the researchers in that study wrote, was that lies are "more novel than true news … [eliciting] fear, disgust and surprise," just the things that give sharing its zing.

Thinking critically—especially about the truth of a headline—reduces the spread of fake news

Political leanings also influence sharing. A 2019 *Science* study, from researchers at Northeastern and elsewhere, showed that neither the left nor the right has a monopoly on sharing fake news; mostly people are just choosing content that fits their ideologies.

To dig deeper still into sharing decisions, Rand and colleagues developed a two-part study. In the first, they assembled a sample group of 853 adults and first asked them to take a pair of tests. One, known as the Cognitive Reflection Test (CRT), measures basic reasoning processes. The other measured basic science knowledge. The sample pool was then divided in half. Both halves were shown the same series of 30 headlines—15 false and 15 true—about COVID-19, but they were instructed to do two different things. One group was asked to determine the accuracy of the headlines. The other was asked if they would be inclined to share the headlines.

The results were striking. The first group correctly identified the truth or falsehood of two-thirds of the headlines. The second group—freed from having to consider accuracy—reported that they would share half the headlines, equally divided between true ones and false ones. If they were taking the time to evaluate the headlines' veracity, they would be expected to share at closer to the rate of the first group—about two-thirds true and one-third false. "When people don't reflect, they make a rapid choice and they share without thinking. This is true for most of us," says Gordon Pennycook, assistant professor at the University of Regina School of Business in Saskatchewan, and lead author of the study.

Most, but not all. The study did find that people who scored higher on the CRT and basic science tests were a little less indiscriminate. The solution, clearly, is not to force people to pass a reasoning test before they're admitted online. The second part of the study provided a better answer.

For that portion, a different sample group of 856 adults was again divided in two and again shown the same set of headlines. This time, neither group was asked to determine the accuracy of the headlines; instead, both were asked only if they would share them. But there was still a difference: one group was first shown one of four non-COVID-19-related headlines and asked to determine whether it was true or false. That priming—asking the subjects to engage their critical faculties—made a big difference: the primed group was one-third as likely as the unprimed one to share a false headline.

The researchers believe there are easy ways platforms like Facebook and Twitter could provide people the same kind of cognitive poke they did in their study. "You could stick little pop-ups into news feeds that say, 'Help us improve our algorithms. Are these stories accurate?'" Rand says.

The Internet is never going to be scrubbed of all rubbish, but small interventions can make a difference. When it comes to information about the pandemic—on which life-and-death decisions may be made—the stakes for trying could not be higher. ◻

SHORT READS

Highlights from stories on **time.com/ideas**

Health and safety

Gun violence is killing more children in the U.S. than COVID-19, writes Dr. Chethan Sathya, a pediatric surgeon at Northwell Health's Cohen Children's Medical Center in New York. **"Unfortunately, similar to the politicization of COVID-19, we continue to make gun violence a political issue rather than a public-health one."**

Master negotiators

The Supreme Court seems to be trying to reach a compromise on the perceived conflict between religious liberty and LGBTQ rights, writes TIME contributing writer David French. **"By shifting alliances from case to case, Chief Justice Roberts and Justice Kagan are enacting a new legal regime."**

Unwavering opposition

Kerry Kennedy's father was murdered on national TV when she was 8 years old, but she has always been against the death penalty. **"We must act now to stop the carnage," she writes. "It does not do justice, and it will not bring back my father. It will only take someone else's."**

JOHN LAMPARSKI—GETTY IMAGES; ILLUSTRATION BY SJOERD VAN LEEUWEN FOR TIME

THE RISK REPORT

Putin confronts a populist leader from his right

By Ian Bremmer

FROM HIS PERCH atop the Kremlin, Vladimir Putin has placed himself at the center of Russian politics for the foreseeable future, and anti-Western words and deeds have surely helped him get there. But the story now is anger directed his way from his own country's East.

With support from 78% of voters and 65% turnout, Putin won a referendum earlier in July establishing a new constitution that could extend his reign for decades. Yes, there were millions of contested ballots and "prizes" given to voters who showed up at the polls, but no one really expected a free or fair vote, and credible numbers from the Russian polling firm Levada tell us that even a less popular Putin still has the approval of 60% of Russians. In general, opposition parties will continue to keep their "opposition" within bounds acceptable to Putin and his entourage.

There have been times, however, when particular opposition figures have demonstrated an unhelpful independence. In 2018, a businessman turned politician named Sergei Furgal pulled off a shocking landslide election victory to become governor in the Far Eastern region of Khabarovsk. Furgal is a member of the Liberal Democratic Party, a nationalist right-wing party best known in the West for its leader, Vladimir Zhirinovsky, a charismatic political showman and a hatemonger. Furgal defeated the incumbent governor, a member of Putin's party. A year later, Furgal's LDPR finished first in elections for the region's assembly.

This is a tough part of the country for Putin. His party is less popular here, a result of policies that many locals say have been imposed on them from faraway Moscow. How far away? The city of Khabarovsk is about 250 miles from the Pacific Ocean, 15 miles from Russia's border with China and 5,000 miles from the Kremlin. The region didn't back Putin's constitutional-reform referendum with much enthusiasm.

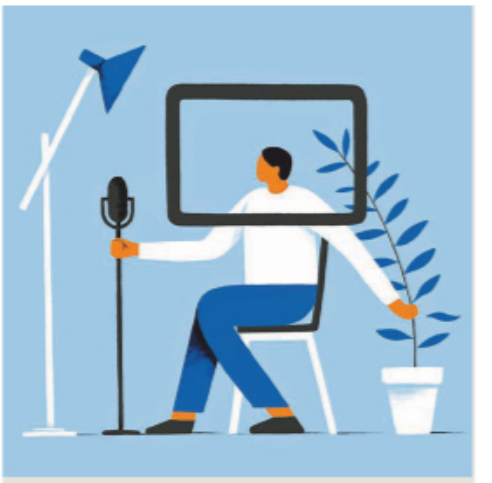
THIS IS THE BACKDROP for a decision, likely approved by Putin himself, to arrest Furgal on July 9. The popular governor has been charged with ordering contract killings of business rivals in 2004 and 2005, a time when he was building interests in metal and timber. To say the arrest was politically motivated is not to say that Furgal is innocent. Once in custody, Furgal was flown to Moscow, where he is now awaiting trial. In response, tens of thousands of protesters hit the streets of Khabarovsk to express their fury. Some insist Furgal is innocent and should be released. Others call for an open trial in Khabarovsk. A few protesters have carried signs denouncing Putin. Many note the suspicious timing of his arrest—15 years after the alleged crimes and just eight days after Putin's referendum victory was secured.

Populism is alive and well in Russia—and might someday create real problems for Putin

Moscow has dispatched lawmaker Mikhail Degtyaryov to serve as interim governor until the next regional elections are held in September 2021. Though Degtyaryov is also a member of Furgal's party rather than Putin's, he has no connection with Khabarovsk province. It's a reminder from faraway Moscow that Khabarovsk's elected governor does not work for the people of this region.

What to make of all this? Populism is alive and well in Russia—and might someday create real problems for Putin. Furgal won an election in 2018 because voters wanted to send a message to Moscow. As large-scale protests continue after more than a week, the arrest of their governor and his replacement with an outsider will only heighten their resentment.

Putin has little to worry about. But these protests could be an early signal of populist challenges to come, particularly if Russia's economy continues its decline. ◻



TECHNOLOGY

Lights, camera, Zoom

As the pandemic rages on, those of us who are able to work from home will probably still be doing so for the foreseeable future. You know what that means: lots more video meetings. So why not look and sound as good as possible? Here are three tips:

PERFECT YOUR LIGHTING
Good lighting can make up for even the lowest-quality laptop cameras. Sit with a window to your side, rather than behind you, for a pleasant Rembrandt effect. If you can't work beside a window, consider an LED "fill light" to make up for harsh indoor lighting.

UPGRADE YOUR WEBCAM
Even high-end laptops often have low-quality webcams. Adding an external webcam, like the Logitech Brio 4K, will give your video quality a big boost. Alternatively, software like EpocCam can turn your smartphone into a makeshift webcam.

DON'T FORGET A MIC
Why not sound as good as you look? A dedicated microphone, like the Blue Snowball, can dramatically improve the quality of your audio, making you sound just as good as your favorite podcasters.

—Patrick Lucas Austin

30 years after a landmark disability law, the fight continues

By Abigail Abrams

JUDY HEUMANN REMEMBERS THE DAY SHE WENT TO register for kindergarten in 1952. She'd gotten dressed up and her mother had pulled her wheelchair up a flight of stairs before the principal intervened. Her disability, he said, meant she was not allowed to attend the school. Heumann had polio as a child, and it left her legs paralyzed and limited her use of her hands and arms. Throughout her time in the educational system, and after she graduated and became a teacher and activist, she had to fight for access at every turn.

"It's totally different today," she says. That's thanks in large part to the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), the civil rights legislation that was signed 30 years ago this month, on July 26, 1990. Under that transformative law, schools and workplaces are now required to have ramps, elevators, designated parking spots and curb cuts, and to provide accommodations for people with a range of disabilities, including those who are blind or deaf.

Taking inspiration and legal concepts from the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the ADA was designed to protect people with disabilities against discrimination and to ensure that they can participate fully in employment, state and local government services, public accommodations, transportation and telecommunications. The results today are powerful: most public buses have lifts for wheelchairs; disabled children attend school alongside their nondisabled peers; and employers are generally aware that people with disabilities have civil rights they cannot violate.

But if the 61 million Americans with disabilities are now less likely to confront the same problems that Heumann did decades ago, their fight for true equality is far from over. "The ADA is ultimately a promise that has been tremendously impactful in some areas and has yet to be fulfilled in other areas," says Ari Ne'eman, a senior research associate at the Harvard Law School Project on Disability and the co-founder of the Autistic Self Advocacy Network.

The majority of disabled Americans still struggle to find jobs, most affordable housing is still not accessible, and disabled Americans as a group experience much higher rates of poverty and incarceration. The ways that the ADA and other disability-rights laws have been implemented often require navigating a host of bureaucratic mazes to access support. "The ADA works in tandem with other laws," says Claudia Center, the legal director of the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund. "Each step needs to be made inclusive and accessible, and that's a big project."

Above, from left: Heumann protests in 1977; President George H.W. Bush signs the ADA in 1990

THE PASSAGE OF THE ADA was decades in the making, built on years of grassroots advocacy, campus activism and the rise of the so-called Independent Living movement, which challenged the idea that disabled people should be relegated to institutions. In the '70s, people with disabilities won a major victory when the 1973 Rehabilitation Act banned recipients of federal funds from discriminating on the basis of disability. It took four more years, nationwide protests and a 28-day sit-in—organized in part by Heumann—to implement regulations that truly enforced the law.

"That work required that disabled people be able to come together to talk about what discrimination meant for different groups, how we as a community could be supportive of each other, learning about the forms of discrimination that we experience, learning about the kinds of alterations or accommodations that would need to be made," Heumann says. That advocacy laid the groundwork for what would become the ADA.

HEUMANN: VINCE MAGGIORA—SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE/POLARIS; BUSH: BARRY THUMMA—AP

In the 1980s, Justin Dart, vice chair of the National Council on Disability (NCD), traveled the country holding public meetings and collecting stories of discrimination. After the NCD drafted an initial bill, Senator Lowell Weicker and Representative Tony Coelho introduced the ADA in 1988; it was later championed by Senators Tom Harkin, Ted Kennedy and Bob Dole. Even as the debates grew contentious and lawmakers moved to exclude people with AIDS or complained the bill would be too costly, advocates stuck together. Their unity ensured that the ADA would eventually protect people with disabilities of all kinds. As President George H.W. Bush said at the law's signing ceremony, "It will guarantee fair and just access to the fruits of American life which we all must be able to enjoy."

After a generation of advocacy, Heumann says, the ADA felt like a "crescendo."

BUT EQUALITY IN THEORY does not mean equality in practice. Thirty years after the ADA's passage, violations abound. Disability-related complaints remain the largest category filed with the federal agencies that enforce fair housing and employment laws, and many businesses and institutions remain inaccessible.

At a more basic level, many disabled Americans say that while the ADA guaranteed them rights, it did little to address the historical inequities that have long pushed them to the margins of society. Children with disabilities are still less likely to graduate from high school and far less likely to attend college than their nondisabled peers. They are also disciplined more often in educational settings and overrepresented in the criminal-justice system, where prisons are rarely set up to accommodate their needs.

"We have not really taken the concept of disability inclusion, of community support, of nondiscrimination and made that into programs and supports that prevent homelessness and incarceration," says Center.

Access to employment, one of the central promises of the ADA, is perhaps most out of reach. Disabled people are still roughly twice as likely as nondisabled Americans to be unemployed and to live in poverty, and these numbers have persisted over time. While employment rates had begun improving in recent years, the COVID-19 pandemic is reversing that trend. Workers with disabilities still face both overt discrimination and implicit bias, but another part of the problem, experts say, is that the Social Security benefit programs on which many disabled people rely come with restrictive eligibility requirements that can act as work disincentives.

People with disabilities have long advocated for changes in these policies, but the rest of the country has been slow to listen. Though 1 in 4 Americans has some sort of disability, they have historically split their support between the two main political parties. Inaccessible polling places also pose a problem, says Keri Gray, who oversees the American Association of People with Disabilities' voter-registration and civic-engagement campaign. "There's this lack of creative thinking and problem solving that needs to happen, like, yesterday, for our country to be really effective," she says. Gray, who is Black, also argues that advocating for disabled people's right to vote should go hand in hand with fighting for racial justice—something the disability-rights movement hasn't always done, she says.

Though that, too, is improving. As younger activists like Gray, who was born the year the ADA was passed, take center stage, they are bringing new, more inclusive ideas about disability rights. Ne'eman, who is writing a book about the history of American disability advocacy, says the increase in people publicly embracing their disability as part of their identity has played an important role in shaping new public attitudes.

The COVID-19 pandemic is also playing a part. With tens of millions of Americans suddenly working and attending school remotely, and thousands experiencing lingering health problems, it's become more commonplace to think about what it means to need accommodations, rely on friends and neighbors, and depend on government support.

Gray says she is grateful for the activists who came before her, like Heumann, who passed the ADA and helped frame the battle for disability protections as a fight for equal rights. "It leaves us with this next call to action," Gray says. "How can we continue to uplift this piece of legislation, and how can we think about what else needs to come after it?" □

'How can we continue to uplift this piece of legislation, and how can we think about what else needs to come after it?'

KERI GRAY,
American Association of People with Disabilities

John Lewis

1940 – 2020

Conscience of a Nation

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL AVEDON

In his own words

The 1963 March on Washington is best known for Martin Luther King Jr.'s iconic "I Have a Dream" speech, but the address that John Lewis delivered on that day—as well as the one he did not deliver—would also go down in history. It loomed large in the biography of the future Congressman.

When Lewis spoke to TIME in 2013 for the 50th anniversary of the March, he said he vividly remembered being introduced to hundreds of thousands of people who had gathered, eager to hear from a 23-year-old who was quickly taking a leadership role in the civil rights movement. —JOSIAH BATES

"I STOOD UP AND I SAID TO MYSELF, 'THIS is it,'" Lewis told TIME. "I looked straight out and I started speaking."

At the time, Lewis was chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), which had helped plan the August 1963 event. As the group's leader, Lewis would get time at the podium.

"Those of us in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee wanted the speech to speak for the hundreds of thousands of young people and people not so young that we were working with in the heart of the Deep South," Lewis said. "We prepared a speech that we thought reflected the feelings, the ideas of the people."

Bob Zellner, who was then the field secretary for the SNCC, recalled that the organization was likely the most militant out of all the groups involved in organizing the March—and so there was pressure on Lewis to censor his comments.

"They wanted to temper that speech, and we thought that it was the time not to temper the speech," Zellner told TIME.

The speech Lewis ended up giving criticized both major political parties, charging that neither Republicans nor Democrats were doing enough to help the cause. "Where is the political party that will make it unnecessary to March on Washington?" he asked. He also made use of the word

Lewis addresses a crowd at the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom

PREVIOUS PAGES: MALONEY ARTIST MANAGEMENT; MARCH: AFRO-AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS/GADO/GETTY IMAGES

‘We will march with the spirit of love and with the spirit of dignity that we have shown here today.’

revolution, even though some people behind the scenes at the March opposed using the term. The speech acknowledged that many people who might have liked to have been there were not, as they were scraping out a living: “While we stand here, there are sharecroppers in the Delta of Mississippi who are out in the fields working for less than $3 a day, 12 hours a day.”

Those who were there, however, felt he was speaking right to them. “He talked about what was actually happening in the field,” Doris Derby, who was then a volunteer with SNCC, said. “People being beaten and the bombings … so he was talking about things that we knew about.”

WHILE MOST OF THE SPEECH was viewed as “radical” by many, one part came in for particular targeting: the end.

Lewis had intended to conclude the speech with the message that, if meaningful progress was not made quickly, activists would “not confine our marching on Washington,” as he recalled looking back in 2013, but rather would “be forced to march through the South the way Sherman did—nonviolently.”

Lewis’ invocation of Sherman’s March to the Sea, the 1864 progression of destruction by Union General William Tecumseh Sherman to Savannah, Ga., was powerful—perhaps overly so. The goal of that march was to scare Georgia’s citizens and convince them to leave the Confederate cause, and the specter of a modern version shook those who read his draft.

“They [other volunteers] said, ‘John, you can’t use that,’” Lewis recalled. “They said, ‘John, that doesn’t sound like you.’ That’s what Dr. King said.”

While the other volunteers were one thing, Lewis recalled, he could not say no to King. “This man that I admired and loved. He was my inspiration, my hero.”

Ultimately, the end of the speech was changed, though not its strength.

“If we do not get meaningful legislation out of this Congress, the time will come when we will not confine our marching to Washington,” Lewis told the crowd. “We will march through the South through the streets of Jackson, through the streets of Danville, through the streets of Cambridge, through the streets of Birmingham. But we will march with the spirit of love and with the spirit of dignity that we have shown here today.” ◻

SHYER'S

Nashville police officers carry John Lewis to a police wagon after he failed to obey orders to move away from Herschel's Tic Toc restaurant during a sit-in protest against segregation, on Dec. 2, 1962

PHOTOGRAPH BY JIMMY ELLIS—
THE TENNESSEAN/USA TODAY NETWORK

Lewis, in the foreground holding a sign, demonstrating in downtown Nashville on March 23, 1963

The story makes us strong

It's not by chance that John Lewis' name is tied so closely to America's still visceral memories of the civil rights movement. Lewis undertook a purposeful quest to tell and retell the story of what he had been through so that nobody could forget. He turned his experiences into best-selling books and share-worthy speeches—and he did so with intention.

In this previously unpublished excerpt from a conversation Lewis had with TIME in 2017, he explains why he kept telling that story, even though it wasn't easy. —LILY ROTHMAN

Is there a formula that people can follow to know that they're on the right side of history?

Those of us who grew up with a religious background, we just say, Do what is just. Be fair. Be kind.

Kindness is something we don't talk about in politics all that much.

There's a member of Congress who comes to me on the floor almost every single day—a new member—and he says to me, "John, what is the word for the day?" Some days I say to him, Kindness. Goodness. Courage.

You've talked about the importance of telling the story [of the civil rights movement] over and over again, and how it affects the people who hear it. But how does telling that story again and again affect you?

Yes, when I tell the story, and I tell it over and over again, even for hundreds and thousands of students, to little children and adults who come to the office or when I'm out on the road speaking, it affects me—and sometimes it brings me to tears. But I think it's important to tell it. Maybe it will help educate or inspire other people so they too can do something, they too can make a contribution.

I went up to Rochester, N.Y., back in October, with a colleague of mine, Louise Slaughter, who represents Rochester. *[Congresswoman Slaughter died in March 2018.]* And I went to a church that Frederick Douglass had attended, an African-American Methodist church, and I went to a house called the Motherhouse. Two of the nuns that took care of us at the hospital in Selma when we were beaten on March 7, 1965, they retired there. These two nuns are feeble, up in age, but they recognized me and they called me John, and I called them sisters. There were many other nuns sitting around, and they started crying and I cried with them and hugged them, and they showed me this stained glass that was taken from the chapel of the hospital in Selma, which is now closed, and they'd

NASHVILLE: FRANK EMPSON—THE TENNESSEAN/USA TODAY NETWORK; MARION: AP

Two years later, Lewis and King behind the casket of civil rights activist Jimmie Lee Jackson in Marion, Ala.

brought it to Rochester. And we stood there and did a song and a hymn.

It's uplifting and it's powerful to me to tell the story and to respond to people asking questions. It makes us all stronger and more determined.

I've heard that one of the catalysts that inspired you to run for office was the run of terrible things that happened at the end of the 1960s—the assassinations of Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr. What's the key to responding to terrible things by taking action rather than just collapsing?

You have to pull up on the best in the human spirit. You just say, "I'm not going to be down." You have what I call an executive session with yourself. You could say, "Listen self, listen John Lewis, you're just not going to get lost in a sea of despair. You're not going to be down. You're going to get up."

The assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy was the saddest time in my life. I admired both Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy. I admired those two men. Martin Luther King Jr. had taught me how to stand up, to speak up and speak out, and how to get involved. When I first met him, he called me the Boy from Troy, and up until the time of his death, he still referred to me as the Boy from Troy, because I grew up outside of Troy, Ala. And I met Robert Kennedy for the first time in 1963, when I was 23 years old, before the March on Washington. And he was so inspiring, so uplifting.

'It's uplifting and it's powerful to me to tell the story.'

In my Washington office, I have a picture with him when he was Attorney General, from a campaign poster from 1968. These two young leaders, I thought, represented the very best of America. And when Dr. King was assassinated, I was with Bobby Kennedy when we heard. And as a matter of fact, it was Bobby Kennedy that announced at this campaign rally at Indianapolis, Indiana, to the crowd. As I was working on this campaign, trying to get people to come out to the rally, he said, we have some bad news tonight, Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee. I heard that he'd been shot but we didn't know his condition.

And I really felt when the two of them died that something died in America. Something died in all of us. And sometimes we never recover from situations like these. I became convinced in myself that I had to do something, I had to pick up where Dr. King left off and Bobby Kennedy left off. ◻

Lewis demonstrates outside a segregated pool in Cairo, Ill., in 1962. "They went up one at a time and asked, 'Can I come in?'" the photographer recalls. "Then all of a sudden they started to kneel and pray."

PHOTOGRAPH BY DANNY LYON—MAGNUM PHOTOS

Lewis with the Obamas and civil rights leader Amelia Boynton Robinson in Selma, Ala., on March 7, 2015, 50 years after "Bloody Sunday"

Marching orders

By Brittany Packnett Cunningham

OUR ELDERS BECOME OUR ANCESTORS to remind us to be free. When Toni Morrison passed, it was this thought that brought me comfort. When the Rev. C.T. Vivian and Congressman John Lewis passed on the same day, it was this thought that fired me up.

I am blessed to be one of the thousands of activists who decide daily to get in Mr. Lewis' favorite form of trouble: the good kind. We are strong in number. We fight the varied manifestations of oppression every day across the globe. We press for Green New Deals and for America to make good on its original ideals. We radically reimagine public safety and public health to prioritize care over punishment and fund wellness instead of violence. We protect the waters at Standing Rock and in Flint. We fight detention at Rikers and at the border. We take on anti-Semitism and Islamophobia. We say Black Lives Matter because we mean it—and we are unashamed to remind you that we mean all Black lives, the cis and trans ones, the disabled and abled ones, the women, the men, the gender-nonconforming and everyone who doesn't belong to a binary.

No matter the work we do, all of us are clear: we stand on the precipice of transformation now because people like John Lewis tilled the soil. Though this transformation may seem sudden to those who are not ardent students of Black history, the seedlings of freedom have been planted over generations. Any change is the direct result of persistent freedom work and hands that never left the plow.

Among the greatest to farm the lands of liberation, John Lewis sits high in the American canon of heroes because his blood and tears watered the ground on which we now stand. There is no greater love than this: to risk laying down your life for your friends. Biblically, there is no act more moral. Politically, some activists may not have agreed with every vote or choice Mr. Lewis, the Congressman, made. But ultimately, the sum of his life is greater and grander than most humans could even imagine. Not a single solitary soul with any semblance of historical or moral understanding could ever deny how indebted our country is for his sacrifice. It is a debt that can never be fully paid.

AND YET, as heroic as John Lewis' proportions in life, which have only increased in death, he was our family. Despite his long and consequential life, a point of celebration which inspires deep gratitude, our grief is magnified because we lost someone who felt both immortal and intimate; someone far and someone so close.

LEFT: DOUG MILLS—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; RIGHT: STEVE SCHAEFER—ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION/AP

Lewis leads a march against gun violence in Atlanta on March 24, 2018

It occurred to me, on the day of his passing, that at least half of my social-media acquaintances had met and taken a photo with John Lewis. At a book signing. A congressional event. A march or a meeting. Our heroes are rarely this accessible, but John Lewis was. Perhaps it was his deep rootedness in a Christian faith that champions humility in service of God's will.

Mr. Lewis and I spoke several times—many of us organizers and activists considered his presence a gift of mentorship, whether we shared space one time or a hundred. The particular connective tissue, for me, was his faith. He often said that he once thought he'd be a preacher, and would preach to the chickens on farmland in Alabama in his formative years. At one time, I, too, thought this would be my path, but in him I saw someone who instead chose the ministry of social change.

Spreading the gospel of justice is an often demoralizing feat, and yet his hope remained consistent and his determination fierce into his elder years. I once asked him about this, and his response was candid but clear-eyed. "You will have setbacks," he told me just a month before the 2016 presidential election—perhaps this was a warning—"but be consistent. You will get there."

Any observation of John Lewis' life, from his early years to his many terms in Congress, communicates a simple truth: courage is a discipline. In order for courage to change the course of history, as Mr. Lewis' did, it cannot be episodic—it must be unwavering. We should count ourselves blessed to have witnessed a case study in the continual practice of the discipline of courage from a master teacher in our lifetimes.

Our elders become our ancestors to remind us to be free. So what kind of ancestors will we be? Daily, the sum of our future ancestry is being totaled. Will we choose mere words? Or, as Lewis' compatriot and fellow hero the Rev. C.T. Vivian reminds us, will it be "in the action that we find out who we are"?

At bottom, those who herald John Lewis' life but insult his sacrifice must be compelled to transform their practices. Political forces like the GOP, including its leaders in Lewis' home state of Georgia, must be forced to part with their persistent practices of voter suppression—racist tactics John Lewis was clear to call out in life. He bled for the franchise: it is impossible to honor him and dishonor the vote. It's past time we get in good trouble and get in the way enough to stand between the arm of suppression and Black bodies at the ballot box.

What kind of ancestors will we be? Prayerfully, ones that ancestors like John Lewis will welcome through the gates with open arms and beaming smiles of pride. That's precisely how I imagine Martin Luther King Jr. welcomed John Lewis home.

Thank you, Mr. Lewis. See you on the other side. We hope to make you proud.

Packnett Cunningham is an activist, educator and writer and founder of the justice impact organization Love & Power

REMEMBRANCE

EQUALITY'S PIT BULL

By Bob Moses

IN THE EARLY 1960S, SNCC [the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee] had decided it would just do voter registration in Mississippi. I had gone down to work on that program, and my work was very confined to that. But John, in those years, was focused on direct action. He was the person who was going to jail. Whatever actions happened, he was right there.

When he was [elected chair of SNCC in 1963], you had sophisticated Howard students very much involved, and John was the candidate from the rural South. His persistence and moral clarity prevailed in the vote. You were sure you had someone who wasn't going to somehow dilute the message. John was just straight as an arrow.

Then came the March on Washington, with the whole brouhaha about his speech and the part that got deleted—about marching the way Sherman did—that was really typical John. He was like a pit bull: *I'm going to go on, and I'm going to grab this, and I'm not turning this loose, and it doesn't matter what you do.*

But the reason John's direct actions had the impact they did was because he was immersed in a larger movement with a structure. No one knew how to create the sit-in movement, but after Ella Baker helped give it structure, John emerged from within this structure. He went through the training, which involved a commitment to nonviolence as a way of life. John exuded nonviolence. He talked about it until the day he died. And what we got out of [this activism] was the Congressional Black Caucus.

What John accomplished was the elevation of the young person at the bottom of society. You weren't going to get more rural, more Southern, more inundated in Black rural culture than this son of Alabama sharecroppers. He rose up and reached a point where, at the March on Washington, the powers that be have to try to shape what he's going to say, because what he's going to say counts. *—As told to Olivia B. Waxman*

Moses is an activist and educator who, in the early 1960s, led SNCC's Mississippi Project

PHOTOGRAPH BY WAYNE LAWRENCE

John Lewis, who represented Georgia's 5th District from 1987 until his death, in his Washington, D.C., office in February 2019

REMEMBRANCE

Singing with our friend John

By Dorie Ladner and Joyce Ladner

DORIE LADNER: My sister and I met John Lewis in Jackson, Miss., when we were students at Tougaloo College. He was one of the Freedom Riders who returned to Mississippi to settle some matters related to Parchman Penitentiary, where they were all jailed in 1961 after being arrested while defying segregation. They came back to pay their bonds and settle their legal issues. At the time, I was learning about nonviolent action and community organizing, and after I started becoming involved with SNCC and the movement, I would often see him in meetings along with the rest of the group's leaders—Diane Nash, James Bevel and others.

JOYCE LADNER: The public is attaching words like *saint* to John but we certainly didn't view him that way. He was arrested a lot, back in the early years. You put your life on the line for a purpose, to get freedom for Black people who were denied the right to vote.

My sister once asked him, "John, why do you keep allowing these racists to beat you over your head?" It was the times in which we lived. It was not Black Lives Matter times, but a small band of young, Southern, mostly Black people fought against extraordinarily powerful people and structures and helped to dismantle them. We were the sum total of our work.

DL: I ended up dropping out of school in December of 1962 and went to work for SNCC's Atlanta office, which was the size of a closet, because history was being made and I had to be a part of it.

We were all in our early 20s, trying to figure out what we were going to do with our lives and how we were going to survive, making $9.64 a week after taxes, moving from place to place, not knowing where we were going to sleep the next night or eat. We lived off the Black community; the people fed us, and that's how we survived. That was the whole concept of SNCC and the movement for the most part. We were all of the same mindset. Dr. King had more elevation because of his stature—he was a family man of some means—but we were students.

Singing was one of our primary organizing tools. John couldn't sing that well, but we all enjoyed singing. Singing brought joy and peace and calm to us; it's very difficult to organize a group of scared people in Selma, Ala., and Albany, Ga., but once you start singing, everyone joins in a common chord, and it gives you more power and strength.

JL: Before [he announced] his diagnosis, he came to a gala at which I was honored, and I noticed he was smaller. We were going to get together for lunch, but I never followed through. We embraced, and he asked me about my sister, and that was it. But he was the same John. The public John you saw speaking on those stages was not that different from John our friend.

DL: Growing up poor in Jim Crow Mississippi, our mother trained us to stand up for ourselves. John Lewis was soft-spoken so I tried to get a rise out of him sometimes. It was all in good fun, he laughed it off. John admired strong women; he admired intelligence. He knew I would go down fighting, and he liked that about me, and I respected him for his beliefs, his nonviolence.

We learned from each other that even though we all had our beliefs, we were in a common cause for justice and equality and we would do whatever is necessary to try to achieve those goals. *—As told, in two conversations, to Olivia B. Waxman*

Dorie Ladner, a retired clinical social worker, and Joyce Ladner, a sociologist, are both former SNCC field secretaries

‘Freedom is the continuous action we all must take, and each generation must do its part to create an even more fair, more just society.’

Lewis at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., on June 21, 2013, nearly 50 years after he was the youngest speaker at the March on Washington

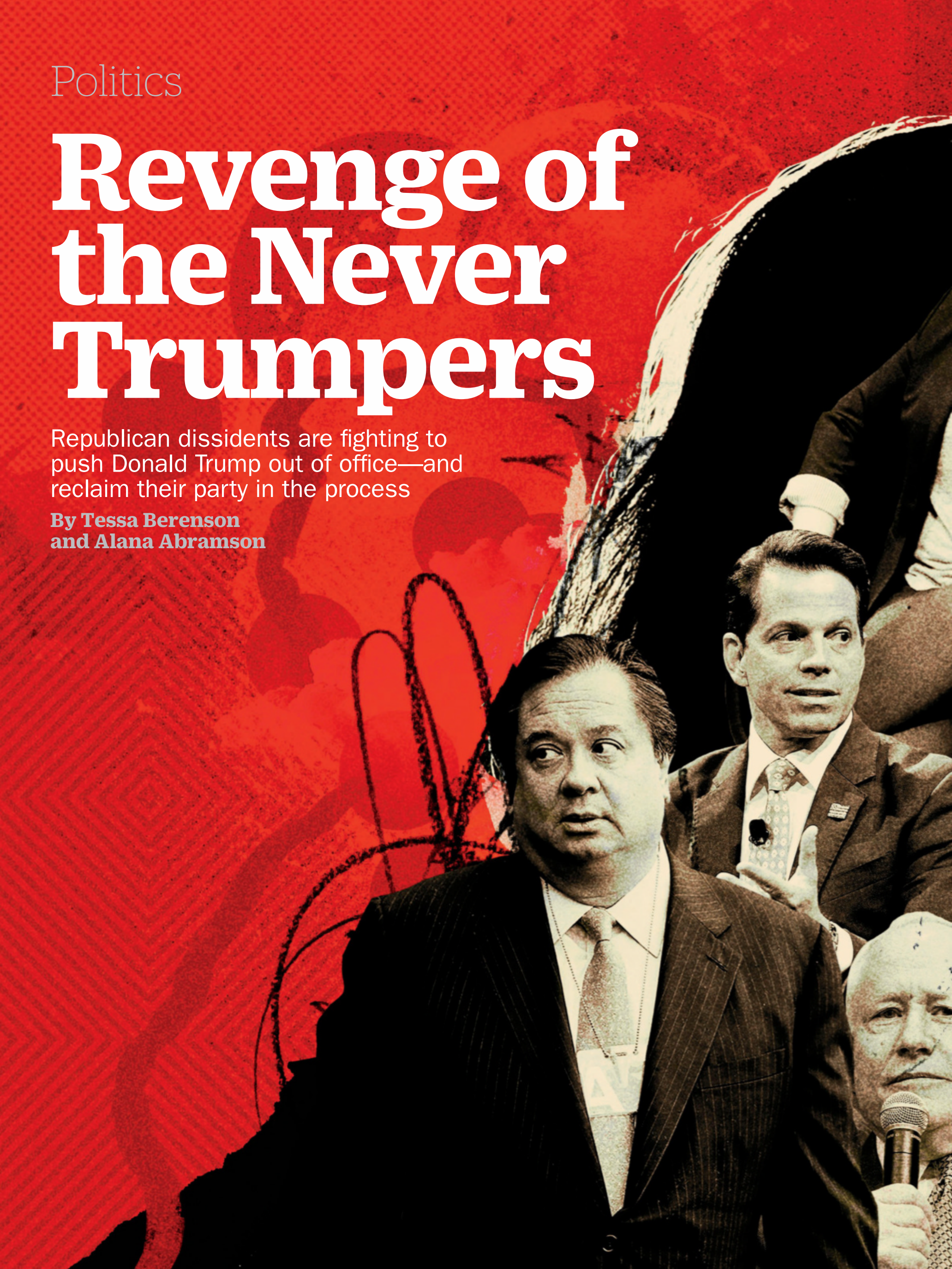
PHOTOGRAPH BY NIKKI KAHN—THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY IMAGES

Politics

Revenge of the Never Trumpers

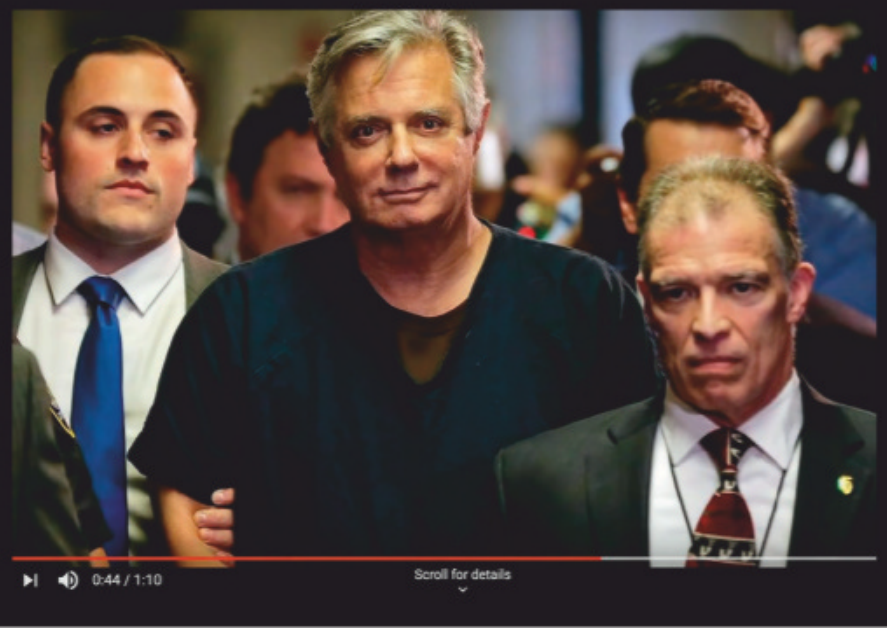
Republican dissidents are fighting to push Donald Trump out of office—and reclaim their party in the process

By Tessa Berenson and Alana Abramson



Clockwise from top: Trump critics Sarah Longwell, Joe Walsh, Steve Schmidt, Bill Kristol, George Conway and Anthony Scaramucci are working to defeat the President in November

ILLUSTRATION BY
ELEANOR SHAKESPEARE FOR TIME



Jack Spielman has been a Republican his whole life. But over the past four years, he has come to two realizations.

Increasingly upset by President Donald Trump's "appalling" behavior, his cozy relationships with dictators and the ballooning national debt, Spielman says his first epiphany was that he couldn't cast a ballot for Trump again. But for the retired Army cybersecurity engineer, the final straw was the President's retaliation against impeachment witness Lieut. Colonel Alexander Vindman, who retired in July after Trump fired him from the National Security Council in February. Spielman decided he had to do more than just vote for presumptive Democratic nominee Joe Biden; he had to persuade others to do the same. So Spielman filmed a video for a group called Republican Voters Against Trump (RVAT), explaining his views. "I want to do some part," Spielman tells TIME, "to try to correct the wrong that I did in voting for this man."

RVAT, which launched in May, is among a growing number of Republican-led groups dedicated to making Trump a one-term President. Since December, longtime GOP operatives and officials have formed at least five political committees designed to urge disaffected conservatives to vote for Biden. The best known of these groups, the Lincoln Project, has since forming late last year gained national attention for its slick advertisements trolling the President. Right Side PAC, led by the former chair of the Ohio Republican Party, launched in late June; a few days after that, more than 200 alumni of George W. Bush's Administration banded together to form an organization called 43 Alumni for Biden. There's also the Bravery Project, led by former GOP Congressman and erstwhile Trump primary challenger Joe Walsh. And plans are in the works for a group of former national-security officials from Republican administrations to endorse Biden this summer.

Since 2015, pockets of the party have bemoaned Trump's Twitter antics, his divisive rhetoric and key elements of his platform, from the Muslim travel ban to his trade tariffs to his family-separation policy at the U.S.-Mexico border. But with the President's approval rating in the party consistently around 90%, and GOP lawmakers terrified to cross him, the so-called Never Trump faction has proven largely powerless, with a negligible impact on federal policy.

Now, in the final stretch of the President's term, the Never Trumpers could finally have their revenge. Four years ago, Trump won the Electoral College by some 77,000 votes scattered across Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Michigan. If even a small slice of disillusioned Trump voters or right-leaning independents defect to Biden in November, it could be enough to kick Trump out of office. "They are the constituency that can swing this election," says Sarah Longwell, a longtime Republican operative and founder of RVAT.

This constituency now appears more willing to vote for Biden than they were six months ago, in no small part because of Trump's faltering response to the coronavirus, which has killed more than 140,000 Americans and ravaged the economy. Between March and June, according to a Pew Research poll, Trump's approval rating among Republicans and Republican-leaning voters dropped seven percentage points, to 78%. A June 25 New York *Times*/Siena College survey found that Biden has a 35-point lead over Trump among voters in battleground states who supported a third-party candidate in 2016. "Any small percentage of voters who no longer support him could be critical in closely matched swing states," says Republican pollster Whit Ayres.

It's too early to gauge how effective the raft of Never Trump groups will be. They're dismissed by many Republicans as self-serving opportunists profiting off the polarization Trump has exacerbated. Trump also remains hugely popular

REPUBLICAN VOTERS AGAINST TRUMP (4)

Donald J. Trump
Following
Fake News @CNN & MSDNC keep talking about "Lt. Col." Windmn as though I should think only how wonderful he was. Actually, I don't know him, never spoke to him, or met him (I don't believe!) but, he was very insubordinate, reported contents of my "perfect" calls incorrectly, &...
9:41 AM - 8 Feb 2020
Donald J. Trump
Following
...was given a horrendous report by his superior, the man he reported to, who publicly stated that Vindman had problems with judgement, adhering to the chain of command and leaking information. In other words, "OUT".
9:41 AM - 8 Feb 2020
LT. COL.
0:50 / 1:10
Scroll for details
JACK SPIELMAN
Republican | Detroit, MI
0:03 / 1:10
Scroll for details

Republican Voters Against Trump has collected more than 400 videos in which people like Spielman—whose clips are shown here—explain why they won't vote for the President

among Republicans. "President Trump is the leader of a united Republican Party where he has earned 94% of Republican votes during the primaries—something any former President of any party could only dream of," says campaign spokeswoman Erin Perrine.

Even if the Never Trump activists are able to help oust the President, it's unclear what will become of a party that's vastly different from the one they came up in. Trump has transformed today's GOP into a cult of personality rooted in economic nationalism and racial division. And while the small anti-Trump faction wants to return to the conservative ideology that reigned for decades before Trump, many Republicans believe Trump has changed the party forever.

SITTING IN FRONT of a packed bookcase, Rick Wilson looked surprised as he peered over horn-rimmed spectacles at an overflowing screen: "There's 10,000 people on here," the onetime Republican operative marveled of the Zoom audience assembled for the Lincoln Project's first town hall on July 9.

Wilson formed the Lincoln Project in December, along with lawyer George Conway, the husband of Trump's senior adviser Kellyanne Conway, and veteran political strategists Steve Schmidt and John Weaver, among others. The Republican stalwarts had grown disgusted with the President's behavior and their party's acquiescence to it. The launch met little fanfare, but in the months since, the group has demonstrated a knack for quickly producing memorable videos and advertisements that get under Trump's skin. In early May, with the unemployment rate soaring toward 15%, the group released an ad dubbed "Mourning in America," a play on the upbeat Ronald Reagan classic, which depicted the woes of sick and unemployed Americans under Trump's leadership. "If we have another four years like this," the ad's narrator intones as dead patients are wheeled out of hospitals on stretchers, "will there even be an America?" The President took notice. "Their so-called Lincoln Project is a disgrace to Honest Abe!" Trump tweeted. "I don't know what Kellyanne did to her deranged loser of a husband, Moonface, but it must have been really bad."

Irritating the President is part of the point. "It's not trolling if you get a fish in the line," says Reed Galen, a veteran of George W. Bush's presidential campaigns and one of the project's co-founders. "We kept dropping a hook in the water, and eventually the President bit." The attention has been a boon to the group's finances. The Lincoln Project raised nearly $17 million between April 1 and June 30.

If the Lincoln Project tries to needle the President, other groups in the Never Trump ecosystem have found complementary roles. Instead of using polished editing and ominous music to make a splash online, RVAT has gathered more than 400 testimonials from disheartened Republicans like Spielman. "I did only vote for Donald Trump because I couldn't believe someone who acted as goofy as he did on TV actually meant it," Monica, a self-described evangelical Christian from Texas, says in one video. "Since that time, I have been riddled with guilt."

Longwell, RVAT's founder, believes hearing from people like Monica will show waffling conservatives that they're not alone in their dislike of the President, and encourage them to break away. "The thing that people trusted wasn't elites, it wasn't Republican elites, it certainly wasn't the media," Longwell says of her focus-group research. "But they did trust people like them." The group says it plans to showcase those voices in an eight-figure ad campaign in five swing states before Election Day.

RVAT identified recalcitrant Republicans through email lists Longwell had built at Defending Democracy Together, its parent organization. Founded in 2019, Defending Democracy Together created online petitions whose signatories often offered clues of their disillusionment with Trump. Petitions supporting Vindman and thanking Utah Senator Mitt Romney for voting to convict Trump of abuse of power during the impeachment trial proved especially fruitful in finding former Trump supporters, according to Tim Miller, RVAT's political director and a veteran Republican communications strategist.

To test new video messages, Longwell held a Zoom focus group on July 15 with seven Florida voters and allowed TIME to

watch. Each participant voted for Trump in 2016 but was now dissatisfied with his leadership. Several mentioned his handling of COVID-19 in the meeting, noting Florida's dramatic spike in cases. Longwell showed the group a few of RVAT's testimonials. "It resonates with me," one woman who works in the travel industry in Orlando said. "It does make me feel less alone." But while three people on the call said they'd likely vote for Biden, two said they were unsure and two said they would still vote for Trump again. "I don't think there's any hope for him," the Orlando woman said. "But I don't see Biden doing a good job either."

Matt Borges of Right Side PAC recognizes that Republican voters' uncertainty about Biden needs to be addressed. As the former chair of the Ohio Republican Party watched Never Trump groups roll out advertisements, he worried there was too much focus on why Trump was bad and not enough on why Biden was a good alternative. "We need these people who know they are not [going to] vote for Trump but are not sold on Joe Biden to hear some messaging from fellow Republicans that says, 'No, it's O.K. to vote for this guy,'" says Borges, a lifelong Republican who disavowed Trump three years ago. In an unrelated development, Borges was arrested on July 21 for allegedly participating in a $60 million bribery scheme involving top political officials that the U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of Ohio decried as the biggest money-laundering effort in the state's history.

In June, Borges teamed up with former Trump communications director Anthony Scaramucci to form Right Side PAC, which plans to spend up to $7 million targeting these voters through mailings, digital ads and phone banks. Their first focus is Michigan, where Borges commissioned a pollster to conduct research on Republican voters in swing districts. After spending more than a week in the field, the pollster delivered the results to Borges and Scaramucci on a Zoom call, which TIME observed. Support for Trump among Republican voters in Michigan's Eighth Congressional District had dropped from 80% in January to 67%, the pollster said. The district had swung for Trump in 2016, then voted for a Democratic Congresswoman, Elissa Slotkin, two years later. Voters who ranked the coronavirus as their top concern were seen as more likely to break for Biden. While the group had planned to target all white Republican women over the age of 50 in Michigan, the pollster said the data suggested those over 65 were immovable in their support for Trump. These insights, Borges says, will form the basis of Right Side PAC's "final sale" to voters on Biden's behalf.

As the presidential race heads into its final months, another group of Republicans aims to help Biden in a different way. A group of more than 70 former national-security officials from GOP administrations, led by John Bellinger, the senior National Security Council and State Department lawyer under George W. Bush, and Ken Wainstein, Bush's Homeland Security Adviser, plans to endorse Biden and publish a mission statement describing the damage they say Trump has done to America's national security and global reputation. They will also fundraise for the former Vice President and do media appearances in battleground states when the group launches later this summer. Some of the same people wrote an open letter denouncing Trump in 2016. But, says Wainstein, "our effort this time is going to have some staying power throughout the campaign."

HOW MUCH IMPACT these groups will ultimately have on voters remains unclear. As they try to unseat an incumbent with a massive war chest, their first hurdle is money. Right Side PAC raised just over $124,000 in the first two weeks, disclosure filings show. The bulk of that haul came from one person, New York venture capitalist Peter Kellner, a longtime Republican donor who began giving to Democrats in 2018 and who has forked over the maximum amount to Biden's campaign, according to Federal Election Commission filings. The group's prospects were also clouded by Borges' July 21 arrest. Borges did not respond to requests for comment.

43 Alumni for Biden, the group of former George W. Bush officials, announced its formation on July 1, which means it doesn't have to file disclosure reports until October; had it announced a day earlier, it would have had to publicize its finances in mid-July. A member of the group declined to provide specific figures but said it had received contributions from more than 500 individuals. The Bravery Project officially launches July 23, and a representative declined to provide any fundraising figures.

Longwell tells TIME that RVAT has raised $13 million this year. As a 501(c)4, or political nonprofit, the group does not need to disclose its donors or exact figures. But the number she provides puts the group on par with the Lincoln Project, whose biggest donors are primarily prominent Democrats. While disclosure filings show that nearly half of the Lincoln Project's donations were "unitemized" or under $200, it raked in $1 million from billionaire hedge-fund manager Stephen Mandel and $100,000 apiece from business mogul David Geffen and Joshua Bekenstein, the co-chairman of Bain Capital.

This influx of cash has enabled the Lincoln Project to ramp up advertisements against vulnerable Republican Senators like Susan Collins of Maine, Cory Gardner of Colorado and Steve Daines of Montana. "We made it very clear that this is not just about Trump but Trumpism and its enablers," says Galen. "The Republican Senators we have held to account are the President's greatest enablers."

The strategy of going after Senators has provoked the ire of many Republicans, who say the group is prioritizing profit over party. "It's purely grifting and making a name for themselves. It's not based on principle at all," says Matt Gorman, a Republican strategist who worked for Jeb Bush's and Romney's presidential campaigns. The Lincoln Project, he says, "is essentially meant for raising money off the resistance and lining their own pockets."

The group's finances have also raised some eyebrows among government watchdogs. Two consulting firms, one run by Galen and another by co-founder Ron Steslow, received nearly a quarter of the $8.6 million the group spent between January and July. While other committees use similar methods, it is "not at all standard," says Sheila Krumholz, executive director at the nonpartisan Center for Responsive Politics. "It raises red flags about whether the operation is taking advantage of a situation where donors are giving to what they think is supporting one effort, but there are other patterns at play."

Krumholz notes that the Lincoln

GRANT LANCASTER—AM NEW YORK

The Lincoln Project's ads criticizing the President's performance have helped it raise nearly $20 million

Project does not publicly disclose all of the vendors who have done work for them, which suggests they are funneling money to organizations that then hire subcontractors. This method is not unheard-of, but the lack of transparency makes it difficult to discern who is ultimately profiting. "The public doesn't know the extent to which Lincoln Project operatives may be profiting, or if they're profiting at all," Krumholz says. When asked about the group's finances, Galen says, "We abide by all reporting requirements laid down by the FEC. No one at the Lincoln Project is buying a Ferrari."

FOR NOW, the Never Trump Republicans say they aren't looking beyond November. "We're all in a grand alliance to beat a very big threat," says Miller of RVAT. "We'll see how the chips fall after." But regardless of the election's outcome, Miller and his cohorts face challenges ahead. They will either be failed rebels, cast out by a party taken over by its two-term President, or facing down a Biden Administration, which would bring unwelcome liberal policies and perhaps Supreme Court vacancies.

If Biden wins, Trumpism won't disappear with Trump. The President's rapid rise revealed the extent to which many of the ideological pillars of modern conservatism—its zeal for unfettered free markets, its devotion to deficit reduction, its attachment to global alliances, its faith in a muscular foreign policy—were out of step with actual Republican voters. Many of the ambitious lawmakers rising in the party, like Arkansas Senator Tom Cotton, have seen in Trump's political success an example to emulate. The next generation of Republican leaders may try to replicate his policies without the self-defeating behavior.

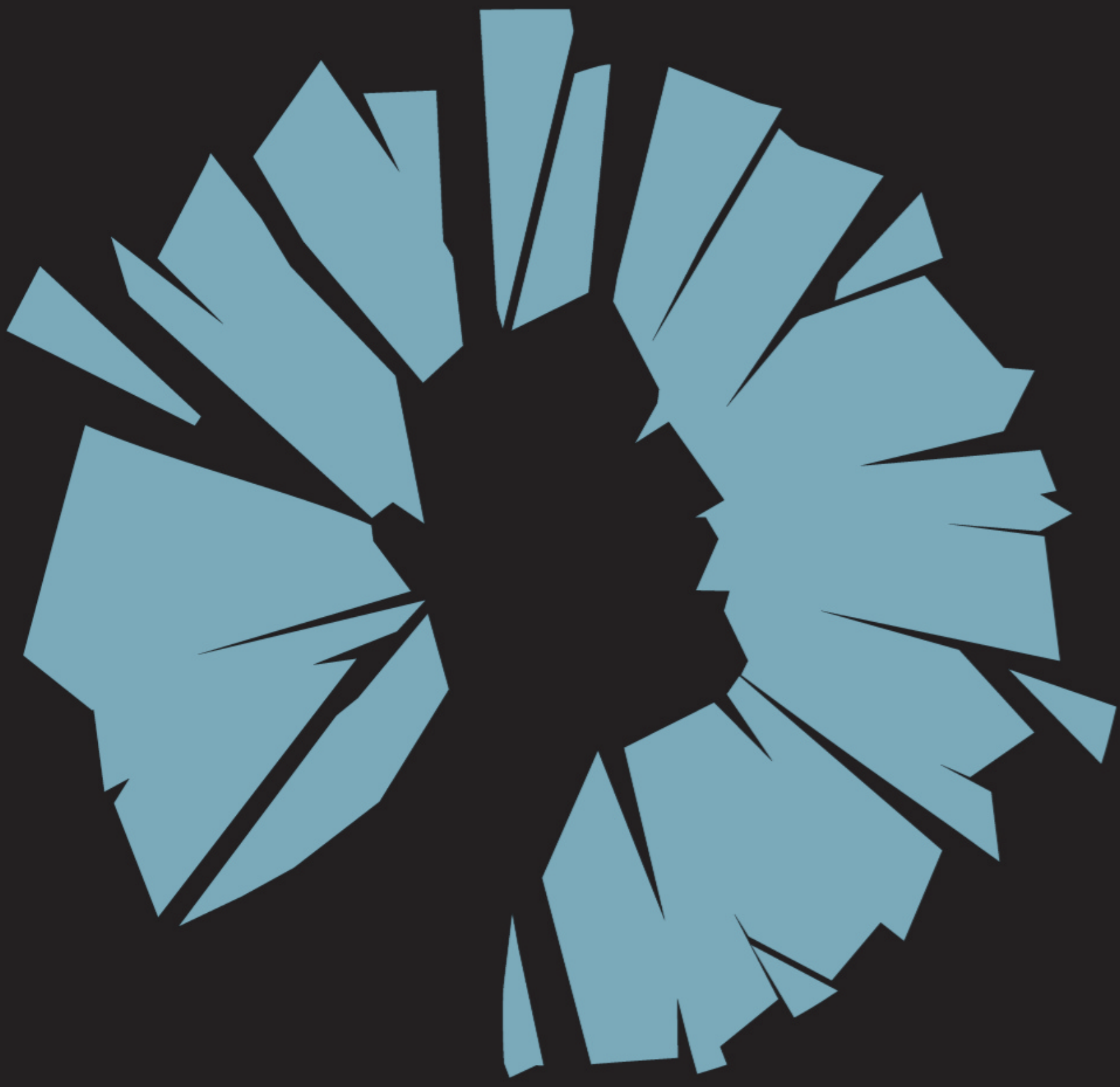
It's led many to wonder whether traditional conservatives will have a home in the GOP after Trump is gone. "There is a growing feeling that we need to burn the whole house down to purify the party of Trump enablers in the Congress," says a former White House official in George W. Bush's Administration. Some see the prospect of a rupture, with disaffected Republicans cleaving off and either forming a new party or making a tenuous peace with the moderate wing of the Democratic Party. "There's a very real possibility … that the party will split," says Richard Burt, former ambassador to Germany under President Reagan.

The modern Republican Party was always an uneasy alliance in some ways, with fiscal conservatives, religious conservatives and neoconservatives jostling for influence, and a white working-class base voting for policies that often favored the wealthy. Steven Teles, co-author of *Never Trump: The Revolt of the Conservative Elites,* envisions a Republican Party in which Trumpism dominates but the dissenters make up a vocal resistance faction. "I don't think anyone is going to have control of the Republican Party the way we've seen in the past," he says.

The irony of the Never Trumper activists is that while they are encouraging Republicans to vote Democratic for the first time in their lives, that is bringing some Republicans back into the party by creating a community of the disaffected. Spielman, the retired Army cybersecurity engineer, had become so disenchanted with Trump that he turned his back on the party altogether, voting for Democrats in Michigan's 2020 primaries. But the Never Trump groups are "giving me hope that there are still some people out there with some decency that want to go back and save the party," Spielman says. "It's allowed me to come back and say, Yeah, I'm a Republican. I'm not leaving the party, but I want to fight for what's right for the party." —*With reporting by* LESLIE DICKSTEIN, MARIAH ESPADA *and* JOSH ROSENBERG ◻

IF SOMEONE BREAKS INTO YOUR HOUSE

CALL THE POLICE



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IF YOUR HOUSE IS ON FIRE

CALL THE FIRE DEPARTMENT

IF YOUR TEEN HAS A DRUG PROBLEM

GO TO DRUGFREE.ORG

Partnership™
for Drug-Free Kids
Where families find answers

Space

YES, THERE REALLY IS A SPACE FORCE

Ignoring the jokes, Trump's new service scrambles to defend U.S. satellites and justify its existence

By W.J. Hennigan/Colorado Springs

PHOTOGRAPHS BY SPENCER LOWELL FOR TIME

Radomes, called "golf balls," at Buckley Air Force Base in Colorado protect 60-ft. military satellite dishes

For more on Space Force, visit time.com/spaceforce

A

AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE ANALYSTS have been watching a pair of Russian satellites, identified as Cosmos 2542 and 2543, for months. Or rather, they have been watching them since they were one satellite, deployed by a Soyuz rocket that took off from the Plesetsk Cosmodrome on Nov. 26, 2019. It was 11 days after that launch that the first satellite split in two, the second somehow "birthed" from the other, and no one in the U.S. military was happy about the new arrival. By mid-January, both Russian satellites had floated near a multibillion-dollar spacecraft known as KH-11, one of the U.S. military's most powerful spy tools, part of a reconnaissance constellation code-named Keyhole/CRYSTAL. It wasn't clear whether the Cosmos satellites were threatening or surveilling the KH-11, which is said to have the resolving power of the Hubble Space Telescope, but it turned out that was only the start of the twins' surprises.

After the U.S. expressed concern to Moscow through diplomatic channels early this year, the pair pulled away from the KH-11 and whizzed around the Earth at more than 17,000 m.p.h. Then, on July 15, with the U.S. analysts still tracking them, the "birthed" Russian satellite, Cosmos 2543, fired a projectile into outer space, General John "Jay" Raymond, the top general of the newly created U.S. Space Force, told TIME five days later. It was the first time the U.S. military has publicly alleged an instance of a space-based antisatellite weapons test, a troubling new development in the emerging theater of orbital warfare.

To Raymond and supporters of Space Force, which is the first new branch of the U.S. military in 72 years, Moscow's "nesting doll" satellites, as the military has labeled the Cosmos triplets, represent a threat not just to one really expensive piece of American spy hardware but to the basic functioning of modern America itself. "Russia is developing on-orbit capabilities that seek to exploit our reliance on space-based systems," Raymond says.

Whatever the Russian crafts' mission—and Moscow says it is purely peaceful—Raymond's not wrong that Americans have come to rely on satellites in ways they hardly begin to appreciate. Even as the Cosmos 2543 was launching its projectile, Air Force satellites were performing a host of civilian tasks back home in the U.S. Streetlamps timed to global positioning system (GPS) spacecraft were turning on across the country, and businesses were relying on GPS to time-stamp credit-card purchases. Weather satellites were transmitting information for nightly forecasts. Many of the around 650,000 calls made to 911 every day in the U.S. depend on satellites overhead.

But for all the ways that civilians and the military rely on it, America's network of roughly 1,000 satellites is virtually unprotected. And just as lightly defended access to deep-water ports or natural resources was a source of war in the past, leaders and strategists worry that America's vulnerable satellite network is an invitation to conflict in our times. Raymond tells TIME that Russia executed a previous, unreported projectile launch in February 2017. China has started training specialized units with weapons that can blast apart objects in orbit. Both countries have deployed ground-based laser and communications-jamming equipment that can disable satellites.

In short, an arms race for space has begun. This is the story of America's effort to keep ahead.

The mission of protecting America's vulnerable orbital networks falls to U.S. Space Command and Space Force, which since December has the same status as the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines. The Pentagon has decades of experience building and deploying satellites, the military operates many of the most important ones, and it has arguably the best strategic planning skills of any organization on

The 460th Operations Group controls a space-based warning system that can detect a rocket or missile launch within seconds

the planet. It also already employs 20,000 people whose jobs are to oversee and manage America's space-based GPS, communications, weather and ballistic-missile-warning systems.

But less than eight months after its launch, Space Force is already trying to justify its existence. Some critics say diplomacy and a new international treaty, not increased military muscle, is the best way to secure space. Others point out that the Pentagon famously overstated the danger of Russian and Chinese weapons systems in the Cold War. And few institutions have the history of waste, fraud and abuse that the Pentagon does: watchdogs note that the Space Force budget for 2021 is $15.4 billion, with a projected increase of $2.6 billion over the next five years, most of it driven by classified programs.

Although the cost represents just a fraction of the Pentagon's $740 billion total budget, convincing Americans that a new service can be trusted to protect our satellites and not just grow a vast new expensive wing on the military-industrial complex will take some doing. It doesn't help that things have gotten off to a somewhat comedic start: the popular culture has dubbed the new command "Space Farce," thanks in part to its biggest advocate, President Donald Trump. He's made it a part of his re-election pitch, and his campaign sells Space Force merch. Trump even personally signed off on the Space Force official seal and made recommendations for styling its uniforms, four U.S. officials tell TIME. When word of Trump's superficial interest in the complex, high-stakes military undertaking got out, it fueled endless memes and late-night comedy routines. In May, Netflix released a Steve Carell satirical series based on the service's launch, including uniforms designed to provide camouflage on the moon.

For more than nine months, TIME conducted a series of interviews with Raymond and other Space Command leaders, analysts and operations experts in Washington, D.C., and Colorado, documenting the birth of this new branch of the U.S. military. The picture that emerges is mixed. Space Force comprises dedicated professionals attempting to mitigate real threats. But it has work to do convincing Americans it is undertaking an operation critical to their safety and way of life, and not just an overpriced, militarized vanity project.

THE AMERICAN TROOPS had just minutes to get to safety, and they didn't even know it yet. At around 1 a.m. local time on Jan. 8, more than a dozen Qiam-1 and Fateh-313 ballistic missiles tore from their launch sites at three bases in western Iran. Within seconds, infrared sensors on U.S. satellites

orbiting 22,000 miles overhead registered the missiles' heat signatures against Earth's background and beamed the data back to the 460th Operations Group at Buckley Air Force Base in Aurora, Colo. Three immense screens on the Buckley operations floor registered the missiles' details in real time as row upon row of intelligence analysts, bathed in the bluish glow of computer monitors, triangulated their launch points and trajectories.

With the clock ticking, word went out over another set of U.S. military communications satellites to two Iraqi bases, Al Asad and Erbil, where hundreds of Americans were stationed. The first missiles hit at 1:34 a.m., their 1,400-lb. warheads turning buildings, aircraft and living quarters into smoldering rubble. Concussions from the blasts injured 109 American troops, but most had managed to shelter in underground bunkers and trenches. No one died.

The foiled Iranian attack was a validation of the 50-year U.S. strategy of placing satellites into space to provide tactical advantage in conflict. But in recent decades, the contest has changed: it is about more than missiles, there are more players, and everyone is building constellations of more advanced spacecraft. Since October 2014, a Russian satellite called Luch has "visited" 15 different communications satellites, including a French and Italian military one, according to Bob Hall, a former Lockheed Martin satellite operator who now works as technical director at Analytical Graphics Inc. (AGI), of Exton, Pa. That incident prompted French Defense Minister Florence Parly to announce last year that France will develop "bodyguard" satellites armed with laser weapons. "If our satellites are threatened, we intend to blind those of our adversaries," she said. The Chinese have also entered the game, deploying in 2016 the Shiyan-17 (SY-17) satellite to execute a "rendezvous" with at least four other satellites—all of them Chinese, AGI found. "They perform this orbital dance where they fly around a satellite very closely," Hall says.

Both China and Russia reorganized their militaries in 2015, emphasizing the importance of space operations, according to a Defense Intelligence Agency assessment published last year. "They view space as important to modern warfare and view counterspace capabilities as a means to reduce U.S. and allied military effectiveness," it said, adding that America's dependence on space is perceived by adversaries as the "Achilles heel" of U.S. military power.

The U.S. government has responded with its own novel space technologies, many of which are top secret. One that is partly declassified is the X-37B space drone, which resembles a miniature space shuttle. The X-37B is in the midst of its sixth mission to test "capabilities necessary to maintain superiority in the space domain," the military says. The most recent completed mission was a 780-day flight that ended in October.

The threats to space-based systems originate on Earth as well. On April 15, Russia tested an antisatellite missile,

The 50th Space Wing operates military satellites, including the GPS network, at Schriever Air Force Base

and in December the Russian military deployed a new laser system designed to blind spy satellites overhead. GPS users in northern Scandinavia since 2017 have reported signal disruptions whenever Russian military exercises are conducted in the region; the Norwegian government says the Russians are jamming the signals. China is developing jammers to target satellite communications over a range of frequency bands, including military-protected extremely high-frequency communications. And China demonstrated its own antisatellite-missile capability in 2007 when it blasted one of its old weather satellites apart, creating a cloud of more than 3,000 pieces of space debris—a tipping point that arguably started the space arms race unfolding today.

BEHIND TWO TIERS of razor-wire-topped chain-link fencing inside Schriever Air Force Base, east of Colorado Springs, sits Building 400, one of the most restricted facilities in Space Command. On each floor, space-operations squadrons work in temperature-controlled rooms behind vaultlike doors to ensure that 190 Defense Department satellites, which they call birds, operate without a hitch. These days, when something goes wrong, the operators no longer assume they're dealing with a technical glitch. "A problem you encounter may be because an adversary created it for you," says Lieut. Colonel Michael Schriever, director of GPS operations, whose grandfather lent his name to the base. "Space is no longer a benign environment."

This new mentality, which is referred to as orbital warfare, is a prime driver behind the creation of Space Force. Until recently, space was seen as a peaceful domain: satellites like GPS were thought to be too far away and too costly to target. Not anymore. The Navy has restarted astronomical-navigation training for its officers after concluding their recent reliance on GPS left them vulnerable to space-based attacks. The Army has granted contracts for miniaturized inertial navigation systems that can be strapped to soldiers' boots to keep track of them if satellites go down. "Our space systems are vulnerable," says Todd Harrison, director of the Aerospace Security Project at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. "That's why it's time for a separate uniformed service."

Another reason for Space Force's creation is that national satellites are currently controlled by multiple services and agencies, which can lead to excessive secrecy and the lack of information sharing known in the intelligence world as hypercompartmentalization. During the Obama Administration, it once took officials four months to assemble a briefing on U.S. space capabilities for then Vice President Joe Biden because information was scattered among so many top-secret classifications and few officials had access to all of them, recalls Robert Cardillo, former director of the U.S. National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency.

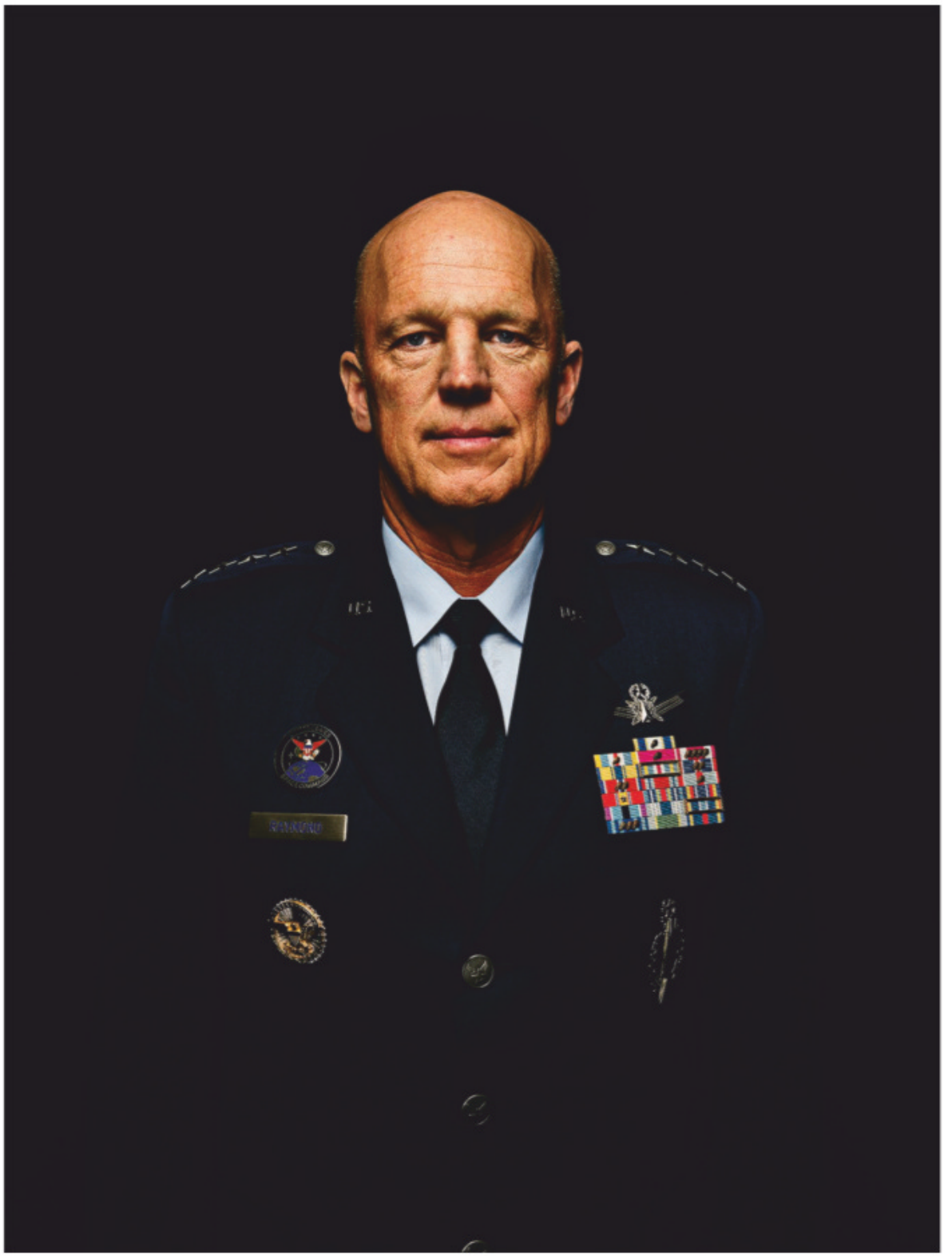
But reorganization presents its own challenges. Inside a lower ground-floor office at the Pentagon, behind an unmarked,

key-card-accessed door off Corridor 8, is where military planners mapped the future of the military's newest branch. Step in and look to the right, where the blueprints for the organization are tacked to the wall. At the top of the military hierarchy is General Raymond, currently one of only 88 official Space Force members. Below him is Chief Master Sergeant Roger Towberman, the first senior enlisted adviser, and then cascading tiers and rows of mostly empty rectangles signifying commanders, deputies and other positions.

Some of the work of standing up Space Force is superficial, like what to call its members. If you're in the Army, you're a soldier. The Navy? Sailor. Marine Corps? Marine. Air Force? Airman. But the Space Force? Are you … a spaceman? (The Pentagon sent out surveys to service members for their input.) But other aspects are more complicated. The backbone of what will be the Space Force is about 16,000 uniformed and civilian Air Force personnel. On July 16, the new service announced it had selected 2,410 airmen out of more than 8,500 active-duty volunteers to transfer beginning Sept. 1. All will need to transfer contracts, pay and benefits to the newly created bureaucracy of space.

If that sounds potentially expensive to you, you're not alone. In a rare act of budget prudence, the Hill restricted Space Force from adding any new military positions—they must instead be transferred from other services. Nonetheless, the Congressional Budget Office estimated it would cost up to $3 billion in onetime expenses over the next five years to set up the force, plus an additional $1 billion or so to pay for new management and administrative positions. Government watchdogs have little doubt that a whole new bureaucracy will result in increased federal military funding. "The initial costs of setting up the Space Force are likely a small down payment on an undertaking that could cost tens of billions of dollars in the years to come," says William Hartung of the Center for International Policy.

The prospect of Space Force has stimulated the enthusiasm of the aerospace industry, which relies on big-ticket defense contracts, and high-tech research institutions and think tanks, which depend on government funding to lend expertise. That in turn creates opportunities



General John "Jay" Raymond, Space Force's first commanding general, says space-based systems form the backbone of modern life

for traditional forms of Pentagon waste, fraud and abuse. The U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO), Congress's watchdog, has warned the creation of Space Force risks exacerbating fragmentation and ineffective management and complicating oversight when it comes to buying new satellite systems. That's a big concern considering space projects are routinely billions of dollars over budget and years behind schedule, the GAO said. Deborah Lee James, Air Force Secretary under President Obama, concluded when she was at the Pentagon that Space Force made little sense. "Inherent in all reorganization is bureaucratic thrashing," she says. "To me, this is just an extra thing out there that's going to take away time and attention and money."

Convincing Americans otherwise is proving difficult.

IT WAS AN ABNORMALLY balmy day in Washington, D.C., on Jan. 15 when General Raymond arrived at the White House for a briefing with President Trump. The visit, which was described to TIME by

Space

four U.S. officials, was more than just business for Trump. Over the past two years, Space Force has become tied up with his political prospects. Mentions of Space Force are a routine applause line at political rallies. Supporters purchase Space Force hats, T-shirts and bumper stickers on his official 2020 campaign site, putting it on par with "Build the wall" and "Make America great again" as a rallying cry for his re-election push. Trump, a businessman who regularly flipped through fabric swatches for his multibillion-dollar construction projects, has made clear to Pentagon leadership that he wants to have a personal hand in decisions on everything from uniforms and logos to the service anthem and names of ranks.

So, after being ushered into the Oval Office to sit in a semicircle before the Resolute desk, Raymond and other military leaders, including Defense Secretary Mark Esper, presented Trump with the first of what will be a long list of Space Force decisions: What will be the official seal? Four options, products of monthslong deliberations with advertising agencies and Air Force brass, were printed on foam-core posters and arrayed in front of the President. Trump studied each one before settling on one featuring a silver delta symbol circled by a white orbiting spacecraft surmounting a blue globe. To make it official, Trump pulled out a black Sharpie marker, drew an arrow pointed at the seal and scratched out his signature above it. Before the brass left, the President offered a suggestion: perhaps First Lady and former model Melania Trump should help design Space Force uniforms because of her impeccable fashion sense. The incident later served as the comedic tension at the heart of an episode of the eponymous and fictional Netflix series.

Nine days after that meeting, without warning the Pentagon, Trump took to Twitter to post his decision on the new seal, which he erroneously called a "logo." It drew instant ridicule. Thousands of users pointed to the seal's noticeable resemblance to *Star Trek*'s emblem for the fictional space organization Starfleet. Executives from Paramount Pictures later requested a conference call with the Pentagon to ensure their trademarks weren't infringed, U.S. officials tell TIME. The U.S. military fired off a prewritten statement to tamp down the criticism, which said the main elements of the seal date back to the 1940s and serve to honor the Air Force's "proud history and long-standing record of providing the best space capabilities in the world."

THE DUSTUP UNDERSCORES what may be the main challenge confronted by the Pentagon in the early phases of rolling out the new service: Space Force is still seen as a joke by many Americans. Raymond insists that any news is good news and that the mockery will only raise the profile of the mission. "We have a pop-culture intrigue that we need to capitalize on," he says. Privately, military officials say, he's even considered making a guest appearance on the Netflix series. "We've got some education to do for the average Americans on just how reliant their lives are on space capabilities," Raymond says.

Behind the humor are serious concerns about war: the mix of vulnerable satellites and Russian and Chinese competition has even doves worried about where things are headed. The Trump Administration, and the majority of House Democrats who voted in December to create and fund Space Force, agree that to limit the danger of a 21st century war in space, the U.S. must deter nations by

The U.S. military's operations in space are among the most highly technical and classified secrets in government possession

expanding American military capabilities.

Russia and China say it is the U.S. that is militarizing space. Both have lashed out about the creation of the Space Force as a violation of the international consensus on the peaceful use of outer space, which they say undermines global strategic balance and stability. On the same day of the July 15 Russian space-launched weapons test, Dmitry Rogozin, head of Russia's space program, delivered a speech to counterparts in Brazil, India, China and South Africa via videoconference in which he called for "space free of weapons of any type, to keep it fit for long-term and sustainable use as it is today."

Regardless of the seemingly contradictory Russian positions, some U.S. critics and arms-control analysts say the creation of Space Force makes conflict more likely. A new orbital arms race has turned space into a "war-fighting domain," like air, land and sea, and will funnel billions of dollars to newfangled technology that increases the possibility of war, both up there and down here. A separate branch of the armed forces for space, these critics fear, risks militarizing U.S. space policy and promoting weapons in space. On June 17, the Pentagon unveiled a Defense Space Strategy that made clear the U.S. will counter Russian and Chinese space weapons, coordinate with allies and prepare for war in space.

Those looking for a less martial alternative point to Cold War treaties that reduced the chances of conflict with the USSR. Despite the advancements of space weapons, there are no enforceable rules for military action in space. The 1967 Outer Space Treaty forbids countries from deploying "nuclear weapons or any other kinds of weapons of mass destruction" in space. But that language is broad, arms-control analysts say, and could not foresee the rapid pace of technology now in development. "In the absence of any international agreements about protecting satellites and the outer-space environment, more countries are developing weapons that can destroy satellites in orbit," says Laura Grego of the Union of Concerned Scientists.

A treaty for space brings its own challenges. There are ongoing U.S. military and diplomatic discussions about bringing more allies and partners together to ensure space remains safe, but the White House says it isn't interested in forging new treaties on space-based weaponry. A U.S. State Department official tells TIME that defining a "space weapon" is difficult and verifying that it isn't a weapon is an even harder problem. "It's not like you can go up there and inspect it—a satellite is going to look like a satellite," the official says. "For all of those reasons, we don't support arms control" in space.

Treaty advocates say the problem will get harder as time passes. The U.N. recognizes 90 space-faring nations. In March 2019, India tested its antisatellite system, obliterating its own spacecraft. It proudly proclaimed that it had joined the "elite club of space powers." Other nations such as Iran, North Korea and Pakistan have demonstrated space-weapon capabilities or a desire to expand them.

One way or another, hawks and doves agree that something must be done to shift the new space arms race off its current trajectory. It is a historical truth, after all, that wherever humans have ventured, violence has followed. —*With reporting by* JULIA ZORTHIAN

THE KIDS ARE NOT ALRIGHT

Children are paying a mental-health price as the pandemic grinds on

BY JEFFREY KLUGER

PANDEMICS CAN BE INDISCRIMINATE, WITH viruses making no distinctions among the victims they attack and those they spare. If you're human, you'll do. COVID-19 has been different, particularly when it comes to age. The disease has shown a special animus for older people, with those 65-plus considered at especially high risk for hospitalization and death, and those 18 and below catching a semblance of an epidemiological break. Though a small share of adolescents have suffered severe cases, most who contract the disease in that age cohort are likelier to experience milder symptoms or none at all.

But if COVID-19 is sparing most kids' bodies, it's not being so kind to their minds. Nobody is immune to the stress that comes with a pandemic and related quarantining. Children, however, may be at particular risk. Living in a universe that is already out of their control, they can become especially shaken when the verities they count on to give the world order—the rituals in their lives, the very day-to-dayness of living—get blown to bits.

"I worry that kids will get a double wallop," says Ezra Golberstein, a health-policy researcher at the University of Minnesota. "There's the disease itself and the fear of it. On top of that, you've got the lockdowns, with kids removed from the school environment and their friends." As summer approached, many of the 12,000 camps in the U.S. either postponed their seasons or canceled them altogether, further leaving children isolated. "Especially for kids predisposed to seeing the world in pessimistic terms, there will be more anxiety because they feel so much more out of control," says Mary Alvord, a Maryland-based psychologist specializing in children, and co-author of *Resilience Builder Program for Children and Adolescents*. "We're hearing kids say, 'I'm afraid for myself, for my parents. What if we get sick?'"

Now, as the next school year approaches, there's even more uncertainty. The U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) has issued guidelines for schools, analyzing the comparative infection risks for three different scenarios: continuing all-remote learning (what it calls "lowest risk"); mixing some remote learning with in-person classes and social distancing ("more risk"); and resuming full-time attendance ("highest risk"). It's impossible to say which states will choose which approaches, but already, the massive Los Angeles and San Diego school systems have announced that they will begin the school year with remote learning only—a decision that means yet more quarantining for 825,000 students. They surely won't be the only ones.

For now, there is a dearth of hard research on how the pandemic is affecting children's mental health, mostly because the virus has been so fast-moving and studies take time. What data does exist is troubling. In one study out of China, published in *JAMA Pediatrics,* researchers in Hubei province, where the pandemic originated, examined a sample group of 2,330 schoolchildren for signs of emotional distress. The kids had been locked down for what, to quarantine-weary Americans, likely seems like a relatively short period—an average of 33.7 days. Even after that single month, 22.6% of them reported depressive symptoms and 18.9% were experiencing anxiety.

Then too there is the other sickly victim of the pandemic: the economy, which continues to struggle badly. In a 2018 paper published in *Health Economics,* Golberstein and his co-authors studied economic conditions in the U.S. from 2001 to 2013 and found that during the Great Recession, a 5-percentage-point increase in the national unemployment rate correlated with an astounding 35% to 50% increase in "clinically meaningful childhood mental-health problems." With unemployment now exceeding 11%—compared with 3.6% in January—Golberstein expects to see more of the same emotional blowback. "When the economy is in a bad place, kids' mental health gets worse," he says. "This time is going to be much worse because it's also a pandemic."

Older children, who understand the perils of the pandemic, may require more care than toddlers

PHOTOGRAPH BY LISA SORGINI

Quarantine and its resulting isolation can exacerbate pre-existing mental-health conditions like depression, ADHD and anxiety

LISA STANTON LIVES in Houston with her husband and their 9-year-old fraternal twins. Both parents are employed and have been working from home—though Stanton's husband has been able to go back to his on-site work as a property manager—and both children have been home from school. With their summer camp shuttered for the season, the kids have remained homebound and the household environment has grown … challenging.

"I'm seeing 100% more behavioral problems," says Stanton. "My son, who has learning issues, has three meltdowns a day. With my daughter, the problem became addiction to the iPad. She has a TikTok account and created an [alias] of an older girl. We took the tablet away, and there were hysterics. She told us, 'I want to be on the tablet all the time because [when I am] I don't feel so lonely.'"

Loneliness in lockdown is common for kids separated from their friends. But all children will not be emotionally rattled by the pandemic equally—or even at all; COVID-19 will affect them to different degrees and in different ways. Roxane Cohen Silver, a social psychologist at the University of California, Irvine, specializes in human responses to mass trauma and has most closely studied the Sept. 11 attacks in the U.S. and the 2006 and 2010 earthquakes in Indonesia and Chile, respectively. Though nobody in any culture does especially well in a time of such tragedy, Silver has found that the closer individuals are to a crisis—both geographically and personally—the greater the impact. People in New York City and Washington, D.C., had more acute reactions to 9/11 than people more removed from the terrorist strikes. The coronavirus is similarly hitting some people harder than others.

"The impact on a child's sense of safety depends on the extent to which the family is affected," Silver says. "If there is a loss or if the family has a drastic change in their economic consequences, this event would shape the children's view of the world."

But being able to avoid personal loss is not the same as avoiding the fear of it, and children are very much aware of what's at stake. "I have a grandma and a grandpa who are very old, and it can infect them and they may die," said 4-year-old Benjy Taksa of Houston, in a very brief mom-supervised interview with TIME. Lisa Taksa, Benjy's mother, says her son doesn't otherwise seem anxious about the pandemic, and to the extent he does, he is finding ways to cope. "In his play I'll hear him say, 'This bear is going to

JOAKIM ESKILDSEN—INSTITUTE

the museum, and he has to wear his mask,'" she says.

Another variable is whether a child came into the crisis with pre-existing mental-health problems. In the U.S., 7.1% of children in the 3-to-17 age group have been diagnosed with anxiety, according to the CDC. An additional 3.2% in the same age group suffer from depression. Then there are the 7.4% with diagnosed behavior problems and the 9.4% with ADHD. Silver found that in the aftermath of 9/11, adolescents' level of distress closely tracked whether or not they had a history of such conditions. Other experts expect to see that pattern repeated because of COVID-19.

"Children who were struggling before [the pandemic] are at higher risk now," says psychologist Robin Gurwitch, a professor at Duke University Medical Center. "You have to be careful about kids who were already in mental-health services; we have to make sure services aren't disrupted."

Adults and children in therapy with private mental-health professionals may go right ahead Zooming or Skyping their sessions with no interruption in treatment. But some kids don't have the opportunity. In an April editorial published in *JAMA Pediatrics,* Golberstein and his co-authors reported that according to an analysis of 2014 data, 13.2% of adolescents received some form of mental-health services in the school setting in the preceding 12 months (a figure that is more or less the same today). Their further analysis of data from 2012 to 2015 showed that among all students who received any mental-health services, 57% got a portion of it at school while 35% received all of it there. With schools shut down, so is the care. And, as things stand, there's no guarantee which schools will reopen in the fall.

"I worry about what this is doing to kids," says Golberstein. "The extent to which they are able to access mental-health care is always a challenge. There's a long-standing shortage, and it's worse with the school closures."

AGE CAN ALSO BE a big factor in how hard the pandemic hits kids emotionally. Very small children might not notice anything is different except that their parents aren't going to work, which may seem like all upside. "For younger children, being with their parents full-time is seen as a plus," says Silver.

But those same younger kids have acutely twitchy antennae when it comes to reading the anxious mood of the older people around them. The ambient stress in a locked-down household in which parents are fretting, perhaps quarreling, and disinfecting everything that doesn't move does not go unnoticed by children. "In very young children, you might see more clinginess," says Gurwitch. "Kids are going to have a harder time sleeping. In children who have been potty-trained, you may see regression and accidents. This is not," she adds, "a recipe for ease or joy."

For school-agers and teens, being with parents is all downside, and being with friends is everything. In the case of the pandemic, that essential socializing is out of the question. Silver points out that one of the things that helped Americans rebound after the 9/11 attacks was a sort of great cultural coming together—precisely what can't happen now.

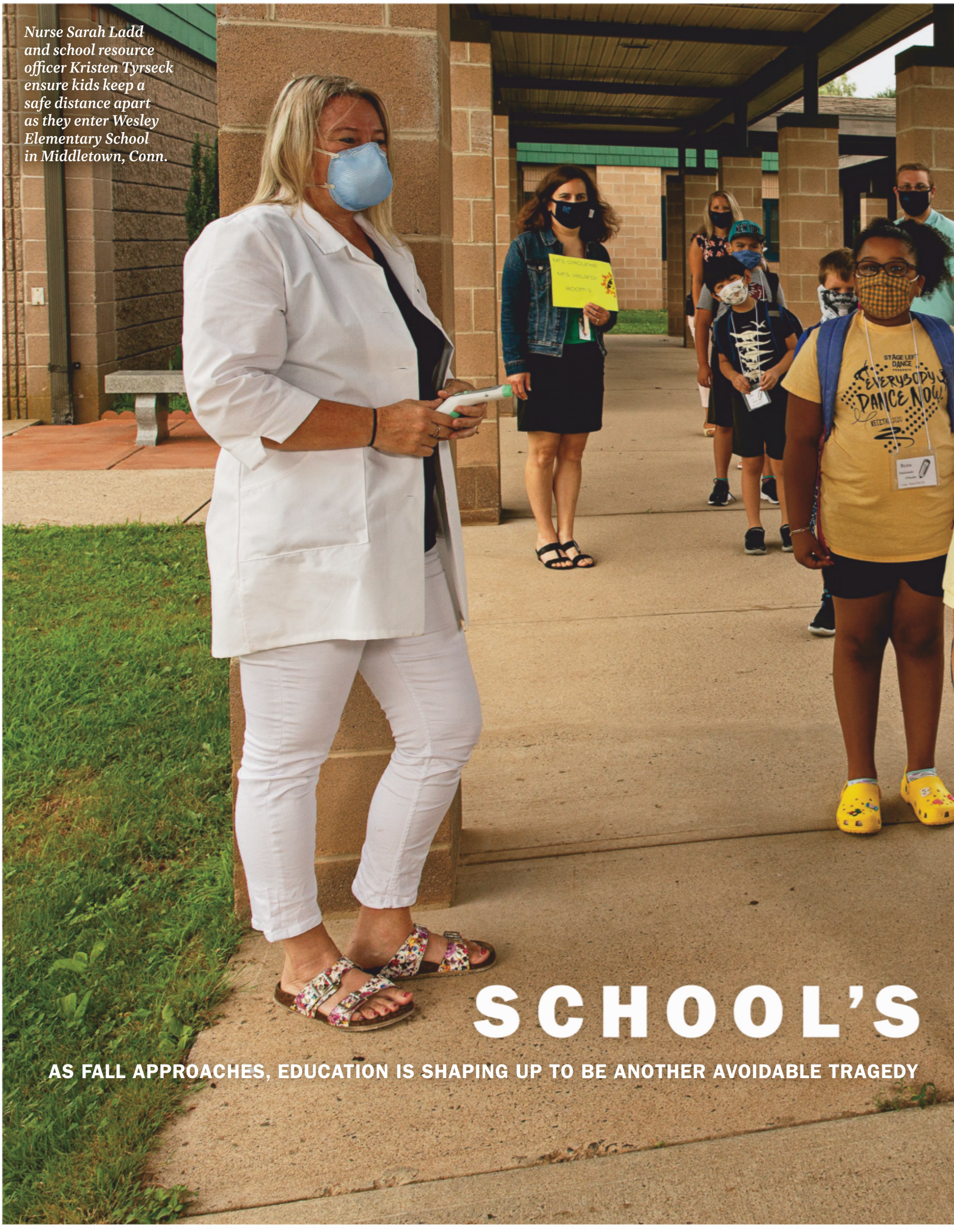
"People congregated and went to their houses of worship, and there were memorials," she says. "For children, being restricted from gathering with friends at a time they may most want to spend time with them makes this event very different."

If there is one thing that's certain about the impact of the pandemic on the young mind, it's that it's not going to stop until the spread of COVID-19 itself does. For parents and other caregivers, that means mitigating the problem, not mending it altogether. One important step: dial back the media—especially TV news. Thomas Cooper, professor of media ethics at Emerson College in Boston, sees an important precedent in the coverage of the Sept. 11 attacks—and it troubles him. "During 9/11, we found that the prime-time coverage of airplanes flying into World Trade Center buildings with people jumping out of windows led to something that you might call emotional poisoning," he says. "People saw it again and again and again and again, and there was a kind of totally demoralizing effect. When you hear about COVID-19 again and again and again and again, all of that leads to a kind of emotional poisoning too."

How much coverage any one home should allow depends, again, on the age of the kids. "'Littles' shouldn't be exposed to this at all," Gurwitch says. "Don't think that when they're drawing or playing a game with you while you're watching TV that they're not listening." For older kids who have a greater sense of the unfolding crisis, Gurwitch still recommends a limited TV diet. More important, she argues for open communication in which parents ask their children what they know—or think they know, correct them when they're wrong and validate their fears. Thinking about precautions like social distancing as ways to behave proactively can also help kids regain some sense of control. "It can be framed as 'Here's what we're doing to keep our families safe and keep others safe, and make sure health care workers don't have to worry about us,'" Gurwitch says.

Eventually, the pandemic will assume its place in the canon of national traumas, alongside 9/11, the *Challenger* disaster and the Kennedy assassination. The young generation living through coronavirus now will have the same conversations with their peers as they get older—the do-you-remember and where-were-you-when exchanges—as earlier generations have had about those other tragedies. For some, the memories will be of a more private pain. The goal, for parents and professionals and other caregivers, is to help ease that pain, to make the now more bearable for kids, so that the memories will be too. ◻

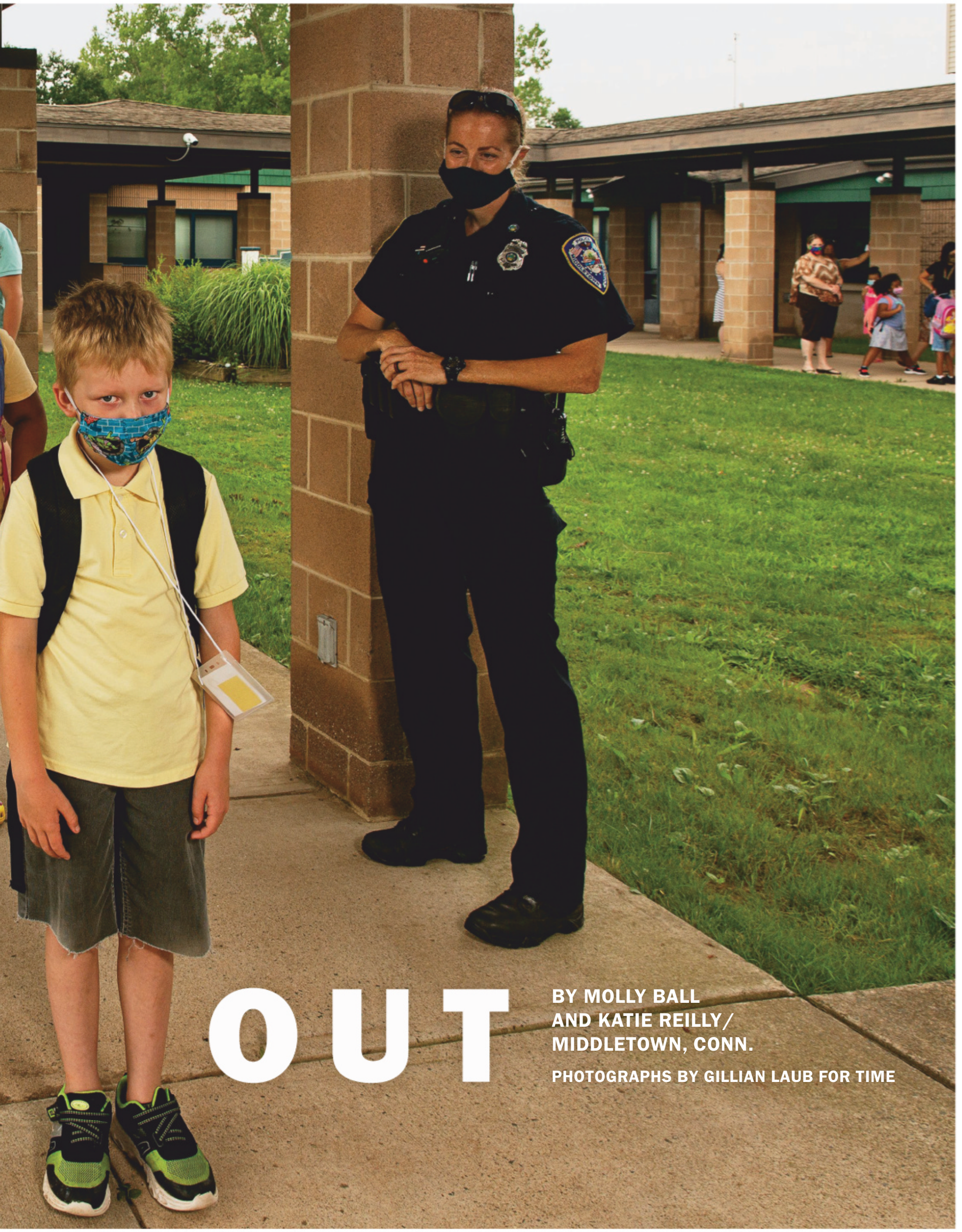
YOUNGER KIDS HAVE ACUTELY TWITCHY ANTENNAE WHEN IT COMES TO READING THE ANXIOUS MOOD OF THE OLDER PEOPLE AROUND THEM



Nurse Sarah Ladd and school resource officer Kristen Tyrseck ensure kids keep a safe distance apart as they enter Wesley Elementary School in Middletown, Conn.

SCHOOL'S

AS FALL APPROACHES, EDUCATION IS SHAPING UP TO BE ANOTHER AVOIDABLE TRAGEDY



OUT

BY MOLLY BALL
AND KATIE REILLY/
MIDDLETOWN, CONN.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY GILLIAN LAUB FOR TIME

Children tumble off a yellow school bus, where every other seat is marked with caution tape.

Wearing whimsical masks—one has whiskers, another rhinestones—they wait to get their temperatures checked before filing into the one-story school building. Inside Wesley Elementary in Middletown, Conn., plastic shields rise from desks, and cartoon posters exhort children to COVER YOUR COUGH. In the middle of a lesson, teacher Susan Velardi picks up her laptop and pans it so her students can see the screen. "Look," she tells them, "I have a friend that's joining us at home!"

There's a new set of ground rules in Velardi's classroom. "Your mask is on, and your mask stays like this. If we go outside if it's nice, we have to sit apart," she tells the students, who will enter third grade in the fall. When one tries to high-five her, she compromises with an "air high five." Other teachers pepper their lessons with reminders to wear face coverings and to wash hands. "We have to be safe," a teacher says as she sits on a rug, teaching incoming first-graders how to draw letters.

This is what school can look like amid the coronavirus pandemic. About 130 students in grades 1 through 4 are enrolled in Middletown's public summer school. They attend classes four days per week, with groups of students alternating weeks of in-person and online instruction. It's a pilot program the school district designed to catch kids up on reading and help iron out the kinks for the fall, when millions of Americans hoped to send their children back to school. Kids would be able to learn, see friends and be with their classmates; their parents would be able to go to work. Even in a raging global pandemic, public-health experts say in-person schooling is possible, and classrooms have reopened successfully in countries across Europe and Asia.

But in much of the U.S., that's not what will be happening. In recent weeks, more and more districts have announced that schools will reopen only remotely this fall. Money and time are too short to sort out the complicated logistics as the pandemic worsens in many states, spreading at rates that make in-person instruction too dangerous.

Parents and teachers overwhelmingly back the decisions, saying they are not comfortable sending kids back to classrooms under current conditions. "I'm just afraid that they're really pushing schools to be this thing that saves us, that allows us to get the economy going again and get things back to normal," says Megan Ake, a high school English teacher in Fenton, Mich. "I want to be done too. But I'm just so worried that we're going to be like a giant test case." Parents left to their own devices are struggling to find work-arounds, making informal arrangements with friends and neighbors or turning to a burgeoning array of service providers to supplement online learning, like tutors offering group instruction at $80 per hour for "pods" of families.

And so as the pandemic continues its rampant spread, children's education is shaping up to be yet another avoidable tragedy of America's dismal response. Without in-person schooling, the economy will remain stalled, families will lack crucial support, kids will fall further behind, and inequality will deepen. But until the virus is under control, many school districts say, there's just no other way.

For kids already in precarious situations, the result could be an irrevocable loss. "Time is wasting for these kids. It really matters how quickly we catch them up," says Robin Lake, director of the Center on Reinventing Public Education at the University of Washington. "They can fall into an academic death spiral if they can't engage in the lessons being put in front of them. Some of them will just check out and never come back."

Teacher Lorrie Tine and fourth-grader Egan Anderson work on a reading lesson

AS AMERICAN STATES go, Connecticut is doing pretty well. Its coronavirus caseload has declined and stayed low since peaking in April, averaging less than 100 per day in July. Governor Ned Lamont, a Democrat, asked school districts in the state to create plans for remote and hybrid learning but said they should aim for a fully in-person reopening and issued guidance that includes requiring masks and keeping desks 6 ft. apart "when feasible."

To prepare, the Middletown district, which serves about 4,600 students, bought 15 thermal temperature scanners to be used at school entryways, disinfectant spray to clean classrooms daily and bathrooms every two hours, and hand sanitizer for each classroom. It even purchased more musical

instruments so students won't have to share tubas or bassoons. So far, it has spent more than $1 million. "Going back face to face is going to be tough," says superintendent Michael Conner, but after months of remote learning disrupting the lives of students and their families, he feels he has to try. "Nothing replaces a teacher. Nothing replaces the everyday interaction with students," he says. "Remote learning can't deliver that."

It will cost nearly $1.8 million for the average school district to buy enough masks and cleaning supplies, and to hire the custodians, nurses and additional staff to disinfect campuses and take temperatures daily, according to an analysis by the School Superintendents Association. That may be doable for a smaller suburban district like Middletown. It's a harder lift for nearby Hartford, a poverty-stricken city where 78% of the nearly 20,000 students are eligible for free and reduced-price meals. To maintain 6 ft. between children, as many as 14 students would need to be removed from each class, according to Hartford superintendent Leslie Torres-Rodriguez. "And that's just classroom space," she says. "That doesn't get into transportation and busing and all the other dynamics."

Districts across the country are facing the same agonizing calculations. "It's the most complicated issue we've faced in generations as a school system," says Derek Turner, head of operations for Maryland's Montgomery County Public Schools, the state's largest district. How do you get kids to school when a bus that would normally transport 50 or 60 can take only 12 because of distancing? Where should students eat to avoid having them shoulder to shoulder in a crowded cafeteria? How do you make sure there are no more than two kids in the bathroom while requiring everyone to continually wash their hands? The district's schools were already overcrowded, and the pandemic has led to a budget freeze. "It's like a Rubik's Cube with 60 sides," Turner says. "Every time you change something, it creates more difficulties down the line."

'TIME IS WASTING FOR THESE KIDS.'

—Robin Lake, director, Center on Reinventing Public Education at the University of Washington

Montgomery County delayed the start of school until September, and it will be online-only for the remainder of 2020. (The district has distributed 70,000 Chromebooks and wi-fi hot spots and 3.6 million free meals since shutting down in-person instruction in March.) More and more large districts are making similar decisions: Los Angeles, San Diego, Atlanta, Oklahoma City and Houston are among the many that have recently announced they will not have in-person classes for at least the first weeks of school. Maryland's Prince George's County, next door to Montgomery, also announced it wouldn't resume in-person instruction until 2021.

The nation's largest school district, New York City, is tentatively planning to offer one to three days per week of in-person instruction, with

the rest administered virtually. In Florida—the current epicenter of the pandemic—state leaders ordered all schools to offer in-person classes five days a week, but some of the state's largest districts, including Miami-Dade and Palm Beach counties, say they can't do that until infection rates fall. On July 20, the Florida Education Association teachers' union sued Republican Governor Ron DeSantis to block the order.

Many smaller districts are still debating what to do, leaving students and parents in limbo. But a clear trend toward delaying in-person instruction has taken hold as the virus advances. "It really comes down to the infection rate," says Dan Domenech, executive director of the superintendents' association. The guidelines from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) say schools can safely consider reopening when states reach Phase 2, meaning their infection rate has been declining for two weeks. (President Donald Trump and some experts have criticized the federal school reopening guidelines as overly restrictive, but the agency has yet to issue new ones.) "Most states are seeing it going up, and in that environment, districts are saying it's not going to happen," Domenech says. "Unless we begin to see a reduction in infection rates, the majority of schools are going to open online."

That's devastating news for students who have already endured months of idleness or worse, separated from friends and classmates and denied the sports, camps, vacations or jobs that might constitute a typical summer. Public-health experts are concerned about the emotional toll of this extended isolation, as well as the potential for abuse and food insecurity among the kids for whom school is a social safety net. When millions of children saw their schools abruptly come to a halt last spring, many struggled to follow classes online because of a lack of internet access or computer equipment at home, and many special-education students lost the hands-on support they needed. Some were thrust into caring for siblings while their parents worked frontline jobs; others experienced trauma in families hit hard by the pandemic.

A McKinsey study projected the average student would fall behind seven months if schools remain closed until 2021—a number that grows to nine months for Latinos, and 10 for Black students. "When I was a kid, the thing that saved me was school," says John King Jr., who served as Secretary of Education under President Obama and now heads the nonprofit Education Trust. "It was a place that was safe and nurturing. This is an educational and economic crisis as a result of the mismanagement by this Administration."

'I'M JUST SO WORRIED THAT WE'RE GOING TO BE LIKE A GIANT TEST CASE.'

—Megan Ake, high school English teacher, Fenton, Mich.

It's also bad news for parents and their employers. When schools are closed, many workers have no choice but to stay home to take care of their children, which may make holding down a job at the same time impossible. While politicians debate whether increased unemployment benefits are preventing adults from returning to the workforce, childcare actually poses a bigger obstacle, according to a survey of 1,500 unemployment recipients conducted by Morning Consult for the Bipartisan Policy Center and provided exclusively to TIME. The survey found that about a quarter of unemployment recipients—8 million workers—primarily spent their time caregiving, and looking after children was the main reason parents were not searching for new jobs. "Across the country, we haven't really been having a meaningful conversation about what families are dealing with," says Adrienne Schweer, who leads the center's research on paid family leave. "We're not really talking about how stretched they are by the pandemic and the effect of job loss and fear on family finances."

THE NEED TO get workers back on the job appears to be the President's preoccupation. "Schools have to open," Trump said in a Fox News interview that aired on July 19. He reiterated his threat to deny funding to schools that don't fully open, accused Democratic governors of "purposely keeping their schools closed" for political reasons and waved away questions about safety, claiming "young people below the age of 18" virtu-

Teacher Judy David reads to first-graders. When possible, some lessons are held outside

ally never get sick. (People under 18 represent about 2% of COVID-19 cases in the U.S., according to the CDC. Children—especially young ones—seem to be far less likely than adults to get sick or die from the virus, and early evidence suggests they are unlikely to infect others, scientists say. For now, the major public-health risks associated with schools stem from adults such as teachers and other staff spreading or catching the disease.)

But critics charge that the federal government under Trump is doing the opposite of what it should: seeking to impose a one-size-fits-all policy on a diverse, locally controlled system. Instead of offering support and detailed guidance, he's threatening punishment. "At some point, we need to see common sense break out here," says Margaret Spellings, who served as Education Secretary under President George W. Bush. "The federal government has the ability to gather experts of all kinds—school architects, mental-health and health professionals, online learning and technology experts—and aggregate that expertise, not as a mandate but as best practices, so school districts can figure it out on their own." But local leaders should be the ones in charge, says Spellings. "We Republicans used to be big local-control types."

Congressional Democrats included $60 billion in emergency K-12 education funding in the $3 trillion coronavirus relief bill the House passed in May, but the measure has languished in the Senate, where majority leader Mitch McConnell pronounced it dead on arrival. Senate Republicans intend to unveil their own relief package allocating $105 billion in education funding, including $70 billion for K-12. Half of that funding would be designated for schools reopening in person, according to Missouri Senator Roy Blunt, because "they're going to have more expenses, transportation and partitions and different ways to have meals than they've had in the past and other things." Negotiations on the relief package were ongoing as of July 22.

The Administration has sought to pin blame for school closures on teachers' unions. But the unions say teachers can't go back to classrooms that aren't safe. "We pushed very hard to reopen schools with the appropriate safety guardrails, because we knew how important it was," says Randi Weingarten, president of the 1.7 million-member American Federation of Teachers. The union first put out a detailed reopening plan in April, and Weingarten served on the commission that drafted guidelines for New York State. But the combination of rising caseloads, congressional inaction on funding and an absence of national leadership has dimmed those prospects, she says. "We're seeing more and more districts revert to remote because of the case surge and the lack of resources," Weingarten adds. "It's devastating for children. It's not good. But safety has to come first."

Parents seem to agree. Polls in recent weeks have shifted markedly against the idea of reopening classrooms. In a July Quinnipiac University poll, 62% said they believed it would be unsafe to open K-12 schools, and a similar percentage disapproved of Trump's handling of the issue. An Axios/Ipsos poll found 71% of parents viewed sending children to school as somewhat or very risky. A poll by the progressive Navigator project found just 20% supported fully reopening schools—and the share of those who opposed reopening schools increased 20 points since June. Opposition to school reopening was most pronounced among minority groups hit hardest by the virus: a National Parents Union poll of 500 K-12 parents found 34% of white parents but just 19% of nonwhite parents thought they'd feel comfortable sending their kids back to school in August or September.

Torres-Rodriguez, the Hartford superintendent, says that while mitigating learning loss is a "moral imperative," safety has to be a priority. "When we think about the disproportionality, and the impact that COVID is having on communities of color, that's a backdrop of all of these challenges," says Torres-Rodriguez, whose district is majority Black and Latino. "COVID is real. It's a pandemic, and we have families that have told me, 'Superintendent, I am afraid. I am deeply afraid. I want to keep my children home, and I have to go to work.'"

WITH ALL THIS fear and confusion, many parents aren't sure what to do. Some Middletown parents whose kids are part of the summer-school pilot program are cautiously optimistic. Karalee Kolpak says her 8-year-old daughter struggled with online learning, falling behind on reading when the March closures disrupted her normal routine. "In-person learning is really more effective," she says. If in-person school is an option this fall, she plans to take advantage of it.

But the uncertainty of the situation has spurred many others to make alternative arrangements. In Hurley, Miss., a state where cases have spiked, Angie Yawn, a nurse practitioner who works at a drive-through COVID-19 testing site, is considering homeschooling her two children this fall, having seen the toll of the virus firsthand. She'll have to pay someone to supervise the children during "school" hours while she works but says it's worth the safety of her family. "I don't want my kids to be a guinea pig," she says.

Other parents have tried to supplement their children's education on their own when school districts fall short. LaShawn Robinson, who has three children in Hartford public schools, says it took weeks after schools closed in March for the district to give them laptops and learning packets. She showed them documentaries about constitutional amendments and civil rights leaders in the meantime. When the school-provided laptop that her 8-year-old daughter was using for summer classes stopped working, she improvised by buying a world map, a reading primer and books about space to keep her on track. "I just have to try to teach her something," she says. But as challenging as distance learning has been, Robinson says she doesn't want her children to return to a school building this fall. "It has been a headache," she says. "But I prefer dealing with the headache than my kids' being sick."

In Arlington, Va., Amanda Hawkins wishes her two children were headed back to school in person. But Arlington Public Schools is offering only distance learning at least for September. After struggling to juggle work and remote learning this spring, Hawkins and her husband started Friendly Minds LLC, a business that matches parents with "learning pods" of four to 10 children and connects them with educators who can supplement the online curriculum offered by the school district. The pods have "exploded in popularity," she says. "There's a huge demand for it." Families pay about $250 to get into a pod, then jointly pay up to $80 an hour to employ educators—the estimated rate for those with master's degrees and other certifications. Hawkins is aware that such solutions, available only to those who can afford them, threaten to widen the opportunity gap. She hopes to offer participants the option of inviting a student from a low-income family to join their pod, free of charge. About 40% of her customers said they would consider doing that or offering a scholarship, she says.

Some community groups are working to ensure that help is available to poor families too. The Oakland Reach, a grassroots educational advocacy group for low-income Black and brown families, started a cash relief fund when the California city shut its schools in March, raising and distributing more than $300,000 in two rounds of assistance. "There were a lot more tears when we gave out the second round in May," says Lakisha Young, the group's co-founder and executive director. By that time, more people had lost jobs or run out of benefits. The organization launched a virtual school "hub" that connects kids and families with both instruction and resources, from courses in literacy and martial arts to computers and wi-fi hot spots. It hopes to scale up when the district begins all-virtual school in the fall. "As hard as this tragedy is hitting our families, there's still a lot of passion and hope," Young says. "People's fire, their desires and aspirations for their children—that hasn't died."

'AT SOME POINT, WE NEED TO SEE COMMON SENSE BREAK OUT HERE.'

—Margaret Spellings, former U.S. Education Secretary

Education experts fret that with all the attention on the logistics of public-health requirements, the equally tricky matter of devising an effective virtual curriculum has gotten short shrift. Barbara Kukuchek, a second-grade teacher in San Diego, spent a lot of time this spring talking to her students' parents. Her elementary school serves a large number of English-language learners and a significant homeless population; it sits in a ZIP code that has seen some of the highest rates of coronavirus cases in the county. Many of the parents worked in food service, health care or custodial jobs and weren't always home to log their child into online learning exercises in the middle of the day. Kukuchek was prepared to go back to her classroom until the San Diego Unified School District announced it would be online-only this fall. "I think the governor and the district made the right call that it's not safe at this point," she says. "I just feel like it's a terrible choice we have to make for our kids."

Now that remote learning is going to continue, she's preparing by researching online learning, hosting a weekly read-aloud on Zoom of the children's

book *The Tale of Despereaux* to stay in touch with her students and communicating with parents about their needs. "I just think that we have to find a way to bridge that gap for our students because it was hard enough before, and I think it needs to be seen as everybody's problem. We're all in this together," she says. "These kids are our future, and we want to invest in that. And I think they're worthy of our investment."

IT DIDN'T HAVE to be this way. On April 15, after a month of lockdown, Denmark was the first Western country to reopen schools. Its teachers' unions, local authorities and central government worked together to decide how schools would operate, though municipal councils (much like U.S. school districts) were allowed to develop their own plans based on guidelines from the National Board of Health. The Ministry of Children and Education created a coronavirus hotline for schools to receive support and guidance on COVID-19-related issues.

Parents with children between the ages of 2 and 12 had the option of sending them back to classrooms. In the first week of reopening, 51% returned to primary school and 26% returned to day care, according to reporting by The Local, a European digital news publisher. By the third week, 90% of students were back in primary school and 66% were in day care.

Plastic shields surround the desk where 6-year-old Aven Mullins works

The safety guidelines were sensible, not extreme. Schools broke students into groups of around 12—called "protective bubbles" or "microgroups"—that arrive at school at staggered times, eat lunch separately and have their own zones on the playground. Students aren't forced to wear masks, but they are required to follow rigorous handwashing protocols. Desks are socially distanced, and classes are held outside when possible. Parents are not allowed on school property. On May 18, children ages 12 to 16 were allowed to return to secondary school, following similar measures. Teachers who are at greater risk of COVID-19 infection are permitted to teach from home. Six weeks after secondary schools reopened, cases in the country were trending down, according to figures from the World Health Organization.

European countries that followed similar protocols have not seen significant spikes in COVID-19 cases, with Finland, Norway and Germany among those reopening with success. In Asia, Japan, Singapore and South Korea have reopened or kept schools open largely without incident. Even in Wuhan, China—the city where the pandemic originated—students and teachers at 121 schools returned to classrooms on May 6, wearing masks and filing past scanners that display their body temperatures in yellow blocks on LCD monitors.

But all those countries have something in common: their governments brought the virus under control. A cautionary tale about what can happen if schools reopen without adequate precautions unfolded in Israel. While the country initially kept the virus under control, that changed when Israel's new government took office in May and reopened the economy quickly. Israeli schools began opening on May 3, following a bubble model like Denmark's, over the objections of some local authorities who said they had not had enough time to prepare. On May 17, limitations on class sizes were lifted. By early June, many schools had to close because of outbreaks. By then, thousands of students and educators were in quarantine as a result of possible exposure to the virus. Nationwide, daily COVID-19 cases hit 2,000 on July 22, compared with fewer than 100 a day in May, when schools reopened. Government data found that schools were the second most common places of infection in July.

If Trump wanted schools to be in a position to reopen, he should have done more to contain the pandemic over the past several months, experts say. Instead, the U.S. faces skyrocketing caseloads and death tolls, hospitals near capacity, new shortages of protective equipment and long delays for test results. To expect schools to reopen during a pandemic that's been brought to heel is tricky enough. To do it when one is raging out of control is impossible.

"If we were serious about prioritizing school reopening so people could go back to their jobs, we really should have created the stability of health conditions so schools can reopen," says Lake, at the University of Washington. "But we chose to open tattoo parlors over schools, and it created a vicious cycle." —*With reporting by* ALANA ABRAMSON *and* ABBY VESOULIS/WASHINGTON, LAIGNEE BARRON/HONG KONG, CHARLIE CAMPBELL/SHANGHAI, LESLIE DICKSTEIN *and* JULIA ZORTHIAN/NEW YORK, MÉLISSA GODIN/LONDON, *and* STEPHEN KIM/SEOUL ☐

World

ANATOMY OF

ARTWORKS BY BREA SOUDERS FOR TIME

A PANDEMIC

INSIDE THE GLOBAL EFFORT TO UNDERSTAND WHERE COVID-19 CAME FROM

BY CHARLIE CAMPBELL AND ALICE PARK

PART I: PATIENT ZERO

It wasn't greed, or curiosity, that made Li Rusheng grab his shotgun and enter Shitou Cave.

It was about survival. During Mao-era collectivization of the early 1970s, food was so scarce in the emerald valleys of southwestern China's Yunnan province that farmers like Li could expect to eat meat only once a year—if they were lucky. So, craving protein, Li and his friends would sneak into the cave to hunt the creatures they could hear squeaking and fluttering inside: bats.

Li would creep into the gloom and fire blindly at the vaulted ceiling, picking up any quarry that fell to the ground, while his companions held nets over the mouth of the cave to snare fleeing bats. They cooked them in the traditional manner of Yunnan's ethnic Yi people: boiled to remove hair and skin, gutted and fried. "They'd be small ones, fat ones," says Li, now 81, sitting on a wall overlooking fields of tobacco seedlings. "The meat is very tender. But I've not been in that cave for over 30 years now," he adds, shaking his head wistfully. "They were very hard times."

China today bears little resemblance to the impoverished nation of Li's youth. Since Deng Xiaoping embraced market reforms in 1979, the Middle Kingdom has gone from strength to strength. Today it is the world's No. 2 economy and top trading nation. It has more billionaires than the U.S. and more high-speed rail than the rest of the world combined. Under current strongman President Xi Jinping, China has embarked on a campaign to regain "center place in the world." Farmers like Li no longer have to hunt bats to survive.

That doesn't mean Shitou Cave has faded in significance. Today, though, its musty depths speak not to local sustenance but global peril. Shitou was where Shi Zhengli, lead scientist at the Wuhan Institute of Virology (WIV), working with samples of bat feces in 2011 and 2012, isolated a novel virus that was very similar to SARS, which had been responsible for a pandemic a decade earlier. Shi—known as China's "bat woman" for her tireless research on the winged mammal—warned that other bat-borne diseases could easily spill over into human populations again. Seven years later, her fears appear vindicated. In a February paper, Shi revealed the discovery of what she called the "closest relative" of what would become known as SARS-CoV-2, the coronavirus that causes COVID-19. It also originated in Shitou Cave.

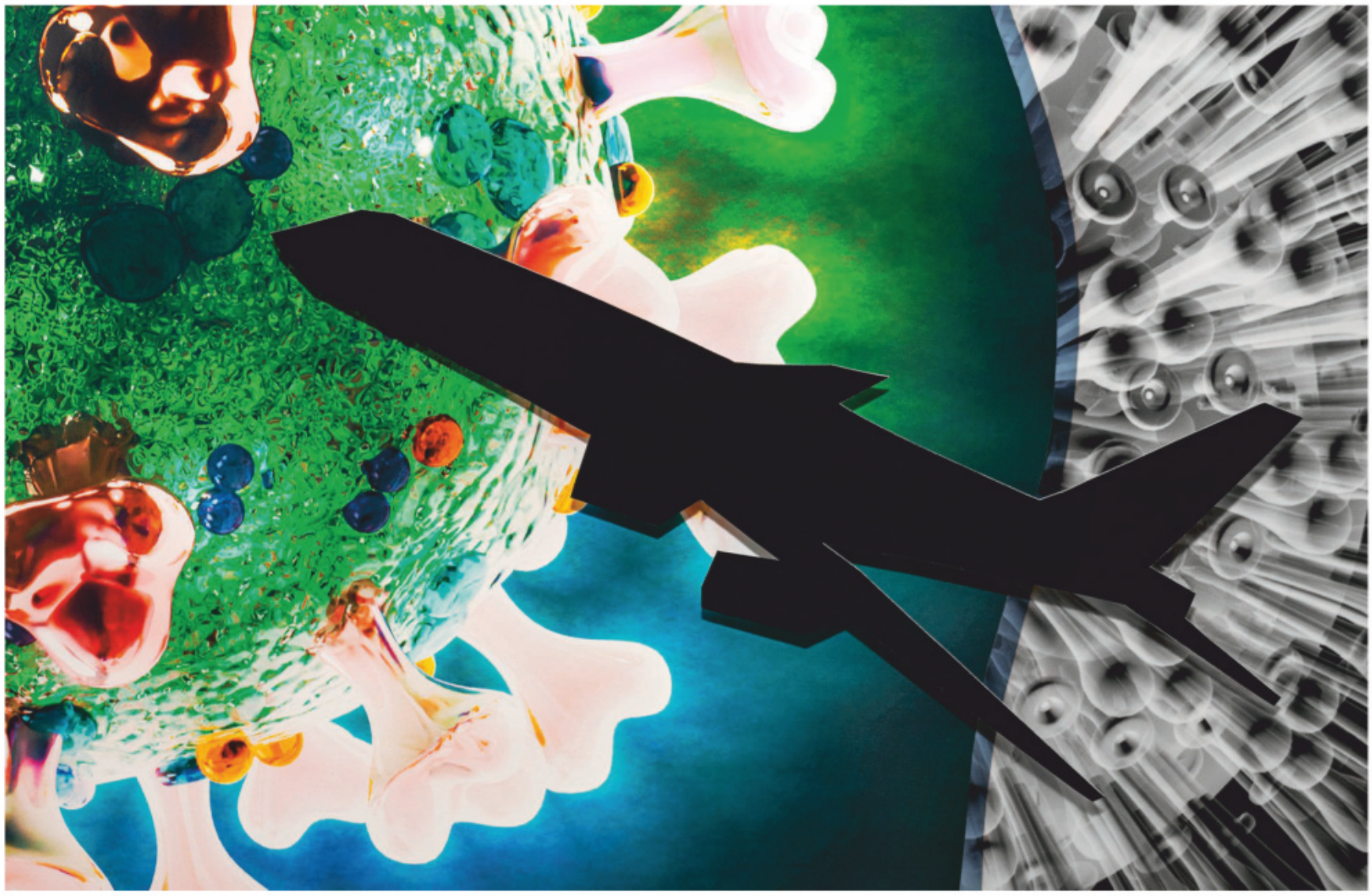
Dubbed RaTG13, Shi's virus has a 96.2% similarity with the virus that has claimed some 600,000 lives across the world, including more than 140,000 in the U.S. Shi's discovery indicates COVID-19 likely originated in bats—as do rabies, Ebola, SARS, MERS, Nipah and many other deadly viruses.

But how did this virus travel from a bat colony to the city of Wuhan, where the coronavirus outbreak was first documented? And from there, how did it silently creep along motorways and flight routes to kill nurses in Italy, farmers in Brazil, retirees in Seattle? How this virus entered the human population to wreak such a devastating toll is the foremost issue of global scientific concern today. The search for "patient zero"—or the "index case," the first human COVID-19 infection—matters. Not because any fault or blame lies with this individual, but because discovering how the pathogen entered the human population, and tracing how it flourished, will help the science and public-health communities better understand the pandemic and how to prevent similar or worse ones in the future.

On top of the millions of lives that hang in the balance, Cambridge University puts at $82 trillion across five years the cost to the global economy of the current pandemic. The human race can ill afford another.

THE PROVENANCE OF COVID-19 is not only a scientific question. The Trump Administration also regards it as a political cudgel against Beijing. As the U.S. has failed to control outbreaks of the coronavirus and its economy founders, President Donald Trump has deflected blame onto China.

Trump and senior Administration figures have dubbed COVID-19 the "China virus" and "Wuhan virus." Secretary of State Mike Pompeo said there was "enormous evidence" the virus had escaped from Shi's lab in the city. (He has yet to share any hard evidence.) "This is the worst attack we've ever had on our country. This is worse than Pearl Harbor. This is worse than the World Trade Center," Trump said in May of the pandemic, pointing the finger at China. In response, Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi accused the U.S. President of trying to foment a "new cold war" through "lies and conspiracy theories."



PREVIOUS PAGES: GETTY IMAGES (8); SHUTTERSTOCK (18); THIS PAGE: SHUTTERSTOCK (3)

The origin of the virus is clearly a touchy subject. Nevertheless, the world desperately needs it broached. Australia and the E.U. have joined Washington's calls for a thorough investigation into the cause of the outbreak. On May 18, Xi responded to pressure to express support for "global research by scientists on the source and transmission routes of the virus" overseen by the World Health Organization.

But Trump has already accused the WHO of being "China-centric" and vowed to stop funding it. His attacks may have some basis in fact. The organization refused self-governing Taiwan observer status under pressure from Beijing. And privately, WHO officials were frustrated by the slow release of information from the Chinese authorities even as they publicly praised their transparency, according to transcripts obtained by the Associated Press.

Partisan bickering and nationalism threaten to eclipse the invaluable scientific work required to find the true source of the virus. Time is of the essence; a SARS vaccine was within touching distance when research that could have proved invaluable today was discontinued as the crisis abated. "Once this pandemic settles down, we're going to have a small window of opportunity to put in place infrastructure to prevent it from ever happening again," says Dr. Maureen Miller, a Columbia University epidemiologist.

THE SEARCH for the virus's origins must begin behind the squat blue-shuttered stalls at Wuhan's Huanan seafood market, where the outbreak of viral pneumonia we now know as COVID-19 was first discovered in mid-December. One of the first cases was a trader named Wei Guixian, 57, who worked in the market every day, selling shrimp out of huge buckets. In mid-December she developed a fever she thought was a seasonal flu, she told state-run Shanghai-based the *Paper.* A week later, she was drifting in and out of consciousness in a hospital ward.

Of the first 41 patients hospitalized in Wuhan, 13 had no connection to the marketplace, including the very first recorded case. That doesn't necessarily excuse the market as the initial point of zoonotic jump, though—we don't know yet for certain how many COVID-19 cases are asymptomatic, but research suggests it could be as high as 80%. And, even if Huanan market wasn't where the virus first infected humans, it certainly played a huge role as an incubator of transmission. At a Jan. 26 press conference, the Hong Kong Centre for Health Protection revealed 33 of 585 environmental samples taken after the market was shut Jan. 1 tested positive for the virus. Of these, 31 were taken in the western section where wildlife was sold.

In May, China acceded to demands for an independent inquiry after more than 100 countries

supported a resolution drafted by the E.U. Still, President Xi insists it must be "comprehensive"—looking not just at China but also at how other nations responded to the WHO's warnings—and cannot begin until after the pandemic has subsided. "The principles of objectivity and fairness need to be upheld," Xi told the World Health Assembly. (Notably, inquiries into the 2009 H1N1 "swine flu" pandemic and 2014 West African Ebola outbreak began before the crises had abated.) According to past investigations' protocols, teams are composed of independent public-health experts and former WHO staff appointed by the WHO based on member states' recommendations. At a practical level, however, any probe within China relies on cooperation from Beijing, and it's uncertain whether the U.S. will accept the findings of a body Trump has slammed for "severely mismanaging and covering up the spread of the coronavirus."

Peter Ben Embarek, a food-safety and animal-disease expert at the WHO, says an investigation must concentrate on interviews with all the initial cases, trying to find clues about potential earlier infections among their relatives, their contacts, and where they had been over the days and weeks before they got sick. Also, which hunters and farmers supplied what species of animals. "With a bit of luck and good epidemiological work, it can be done," he says.

THERE ARE MANY who look at where COVID-19 emerged and see something that can't be just a coincidence. In 2017, China minted its first biosecurity-level 4 (bsl-4) laboratory—the highest level cleared to even work with airborne pathogens that have no known vaccines—in Wuhan. Ever since, the country's foremost expert on bat viruses has been toiling away inside the boxy gray buildings of the WIV. Indeed, when Shi first heard about the outbreak, she herself thought, "Could they have come from our lab?" she recently told *Scientific American*. An inventory of virus samples reassured her that it hadn't, she added, yet that hasn't stopped some from maintaining their suspicions.

Mistakes do happen. The last known case of smallpox leaked from a U.K. laboratory in 1978. SARS has leaked from Chinese laboratories on at least two occasions, while U.S. scientists have been responsible for mishandlings of various pathogens, including Ebola. There are only around 70 bsl-4 laboratories in 30 countries. Suspicions regarding the nature of research under way inside the Wuhan laboratory persist. According to one leading virologist, who asked to remain anonymous for fear of jeopardizing funding and professional relationships, "Were you to ask me where's the most likely place in the world for a naturally occurring bat coronavirus to escape from a laboratory, Wuhan would be in the top 10."

Still, neither the WHO nor the Five Eyes intelligence network—comprising the U.S., U.K., Canada, Australia and New Zealand—has found evidence that COVID-19 originated from Shi's lab. Canberra has even distanced itself from a U.S.-authored dossier that sought to convince the Australian public that the Five Eyes network had intelligence of a Chinese cover-up. (It appeared to rely exclusively on open-source material.) Meanwhile, scientific peers have rallied to defend Shi from suspicion. "She is everything a senior scientist should be," says Miller, who has collaborated with Shi on various studies. The Wuhan Institute of Virology did not respond to requests for comment.

Available evidence suggests COVID-19 leaped from wild animal to human. Tracing exactly how is crucial. It enables governments to install safeguards regarding animal husbandry and butchery to prevent any repeat. SARS, for example, originated in bats and then infected a palm civet, a catlike mammal native to South and Southeast Asia. The animal was then sold at a wet market—where fresh meat, fish and sometimes live animals are sold—in Guangdong, from which it jumped to humans. In the wake of that outbreak, which claimed at least 774 lives worldwide, palm civets were banned from sale or consumption in China. Bats may have been the initial reservoir for SARS-CoV-2, but it's likely that there was an intermediary before it got to humans, and that's where the possibilities grow. Bats share Shitou Cave with starlings, for one, and at least one large white owl nests in its upper reaches. Herds of black and white goats graze the dusty shrub all around the cave opening, while the Yi ethnic group traditionally rear and eat dogs. Bat guano is also traditionally prized as a fertilizer on crops.

Just a few miles from Shitou, customers at Baofeng Horse Meat restaurant squat by round tables, slurping green tea poured from enormous brass teapots, while charcoal burners cook up the eponymous cuts alongside dogmeat and other specialties. "All the animals we sell are reared nearby," says proprietor Wang Tao. Cultural practices and disease-transmission vectors are often entwined. MERS continues to jump between camels and their human handlers on the Arabian Peninsula. China's penchant for eating rare and unusual wildlife for obscure health benefits may have contributed to the current pandemic. While many aspects of Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM) are entirely benign, involving little more than massage,

$76 billion

Value of China's wildlife consumption and trade industry, banned by the country in February

pressure points and bitter herbs, there is a fetishization of exotic animals, and there's some evidence that TCM might have played a role in launching the pandemic. The receptor-binding domain of SARS-CoV-2's spike protein—which the virus uses to bind to hosts—is unusually adept at attaching to human cells. New viruses discovered in Malaysian pangolins have since been shown to have exactly the same receptor binders. "Some features in [SARS-CoV-2] that initially may have looked unusual, you're now finding in nature," says Edward Holmes, an evolutionary biologist and virologist at the University of Sydney.

That COVID-19 originated in bats and then jumped to humans via a pangolin intermediary is now the most likely hypothesis, according to multiple studies (although some virologists disagree). Up to 2.7 million of the scaly mammals have been plucked from the wild across Asia and Africa for consumption mostly in China, where many people believe their scales can treat everything from rheumatoid arthritis to inflammation. Their meat is also highly prized for its supposed health benefits.

On Feb. 24, China announced a permanent ban on wildlife consumption and trade, scratching out an industry that employs 14 million people and is worth $74 billion, according to a 2017 report commissioned by the Chinese Academy of Engineering. It's again extremely sensitive. President Xi is an ardent supporter of TCM and has promoted its use globally. The total value of China's TCM industry was expected to reach $420 billion by the end of this year, according to a 2016 white paper by China's State Council. And rather than raising the possibility that misuse of TCM sparked the outbreak, Chinese state media has lauded—without evidence—the "critical role" TCM has played in the treatment of COVID-19 patients. In an apparent attempt to head off criticism related to the pandemic, draft legislation was published in late May to ban any individual or organization from "defaming" or "making false or exaggerated claims" about TCM. Cracking down on the illicit animal trade would go a long way toward preventing future outbreaks. But as demand for meat grows across increasingly affluent Asia, Africa and Latin America, the potential for viruses to spill over into human populations will only increase.

It probably wasn't blind luck that Li and his friends didn't get sick from their hunting expeditions in Shitou Cave. Research by Columbia's Miller with WIV's Shi, published in 2017, found that local people were naturally resistant to SARS-like viruses. Examining their lifestyle habits and antibodies can help deduce both mitigating factors and possible therapies, while pinpointing which viruses are particularly prone to infecting humans, potentially allowing scientists to design vaccines in advance. "They are the canaries in the coal mine," says Miller.

The cloud of uncertainty surrounding the virus's origins may never lift. Identifying an individual "patient zero" where the virus made the jump from animal to human may be rendered impossible by its remarkable ability to spread while asymptomatic. But just as important is uncovering the broader map of how the virus spread and changed genetically as it did so. In theory, that sort of genetic surveillance could foster the development of broad-spectrum vaccines and antivirals that may prove effective against future novel outbreaks. Studying the anatomy of viruses that readily jump between species may even help predict where the next pandemic is coming from, and prepare us for the inevitable next time. So did those of his 40-member team of infectious-

PART II: FAMILY TREE

Around 9 p.m. on Jan. 20, Dr. George Diaz's pager rang for the second time that day.

disease emergency responders at Providence Regional Medical Center in Everett, Wash. The first time, the alert was part of a routine monthly test. This time, it was the real thing.

The page signaled the first confirmed U.S. case of COVID-19. The patient was a Washington State resident who had recently returned from visiting family in Wuhan, where the disease was spreading rapidly. Aware of his higher risk, and concerned when he developed a fever, the 35-year-old (who wishes to remain anonymous) visited an urgent-care center where he told health care providers about his travel history. They notified the state health department, which in turn helped the care center send a sample for testing to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) in Atlanta—at the time, the only labs running COVID-19 tests. When the test was positive, CDC scientists recommended the patient be hospitalized for observation. And Diaz's team was paged.

A trained ambulance team arrived at the man's home, moved him into a specially designed mobile isolation unit, and drove 20 minutes to Providence Regional. There, the patient couldn't see who greeted him; everyone assigned to his care was garbed in layers of personal protective equipment. Once in his room, he spoke to medical staff only through a telehealth robot equipped with a screen that displayed their faces, transmitted from just outside the room.

A nurse carefully swabbed the back of his nose and pharynx for a sample of the virus that had brought him to the hospital. Not only was he the first confirmed case of COVID-19 in the U.S., he was also

the first in the country to have his virus genetically sequenced. As the index patient in the U.S., his sequence, named WA1 (Washington 1), served as the seed from which experts would ultimately trace the genetic tree describing SARS-CoV-2's path from person to person across communities, countries and the globe, as it mutated and either died out or moved on with renewed vigor to infect more people.

Genetic sequencing is a powerful tool to combat viruses' fondness for mutating. Viruses are exploitative and unscrupulous; they don't even bother investing in any of their own machinery to reproduce. Instead, they rely on host cells to do that—but it comes at a price. This copying process is sloppy, and often leads to mistakes, or mutations. But viruses can sometimes take advantage of even that; some mutations can by chance make the virus more effective at spreading undetected from host to host. SARS-CoV-2 seems to have landed on at least one such suite of genetic changes, since those infected can spread the virus even if they don't have any symptoms.

Figuring out how to map those changes is a fairly new science. Following the 2014 West African outbreak of Ebola, scientists mapped the genomes of about 1,600 virus samples, collected from the start of the outbreak and representing about 5% of total cases. The work offered insights into how Ebola moved between locations and mutated. But it wasn't published until 2017, because the majority of the sequencing and sharing of that data was done after the disease's peak, says Trevor Bedford, associate professor at the Fred Hutchinson Cancer Research Center and co-founder of Nextstrain.org, an open-source database of SARS-CoV-2 genetic sequences. With COVID-19, "everything is happening much more quickly," he says, which makes the information more immediately useful.

Since the first SARS-CoV-2 genome was published and made publicly available online in January, scientists have mapped the genomes of over 70,000 (and counting) samples of the virus, from patients in China, the U.S., the E.U., Brazil and South Africa, among others. They deposited those sequences into the Global Initiative on Sharing All Influenza Data (GISAID), a publicly available genetic database created in 2008 initially to store and share influenza genomes. During the coronavirus pandemic, it has quickly pivoted to become a clearinghouse for tracking the genetics of SARS-CoV-2, enabling scientists to map the virus's march across continents and detail its multipronged attack on the world.

"We have genomes from researchers and public-health labs from all over the world on six continents," says Joel Wertheim, associate professor of medicine at University of California, San Diego. "It provides us with unique insight and confidence that other types of epidemiological data just cannot supply." Relying on the GISAID sequences, Nextstrain has become a

TRACKING A CHANGING VIRUS

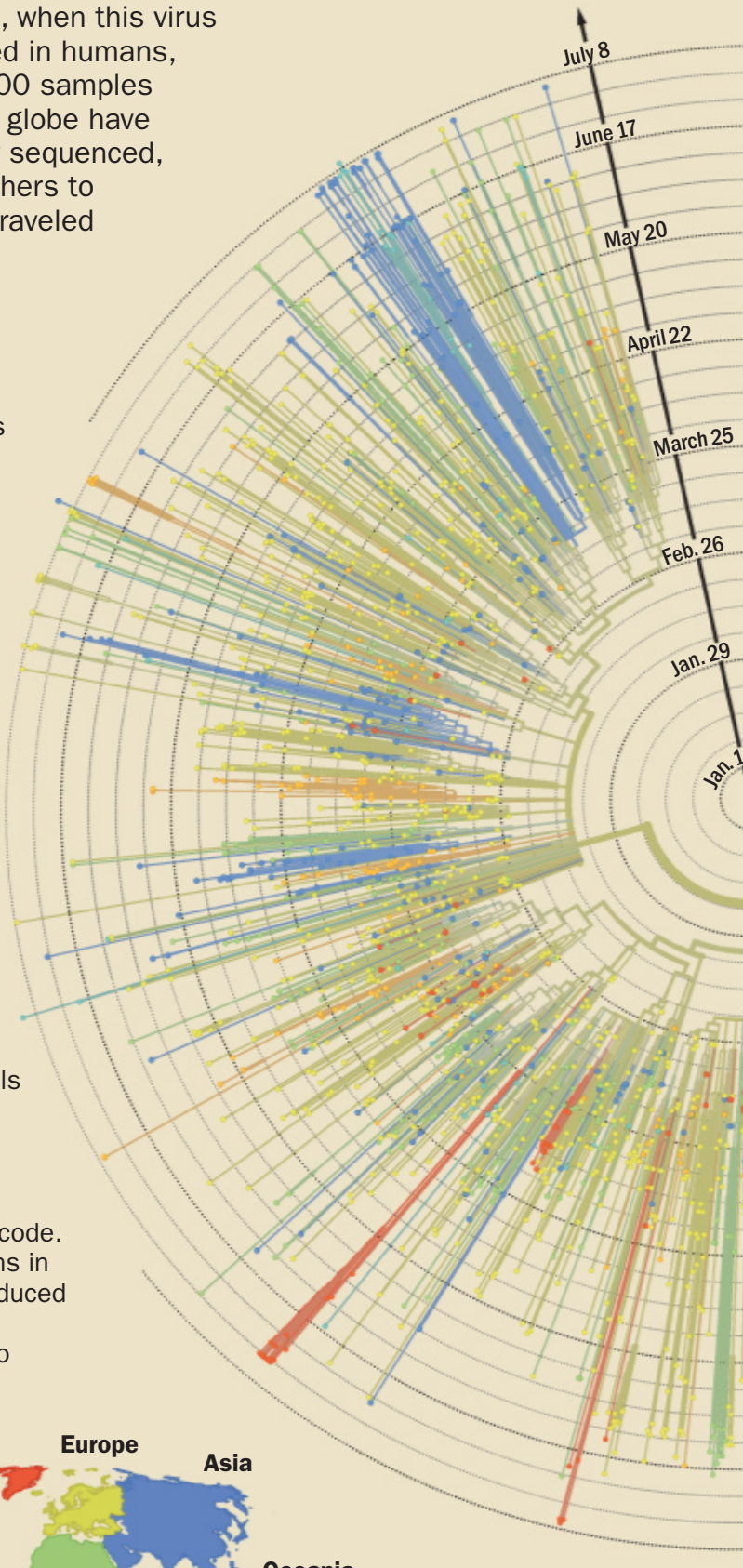
All viruses, including SARS-CoV-2, mutate slightly as they spread. Since late 2019, when this virus was first reported in humans, more than 70,000 samples from around the globe have been genetically sequenced, allowing researchers to see how it has traveled

HOW TO READ THE CHART

Like a family tree, this visual shows how virus samples are related. For clarity, it only includes about 3,800 genomes from the sample pool. Each **dot** is a unique infection. **Dot colors** show where the virus was sampled. **Line colors** show from where it may have traveled

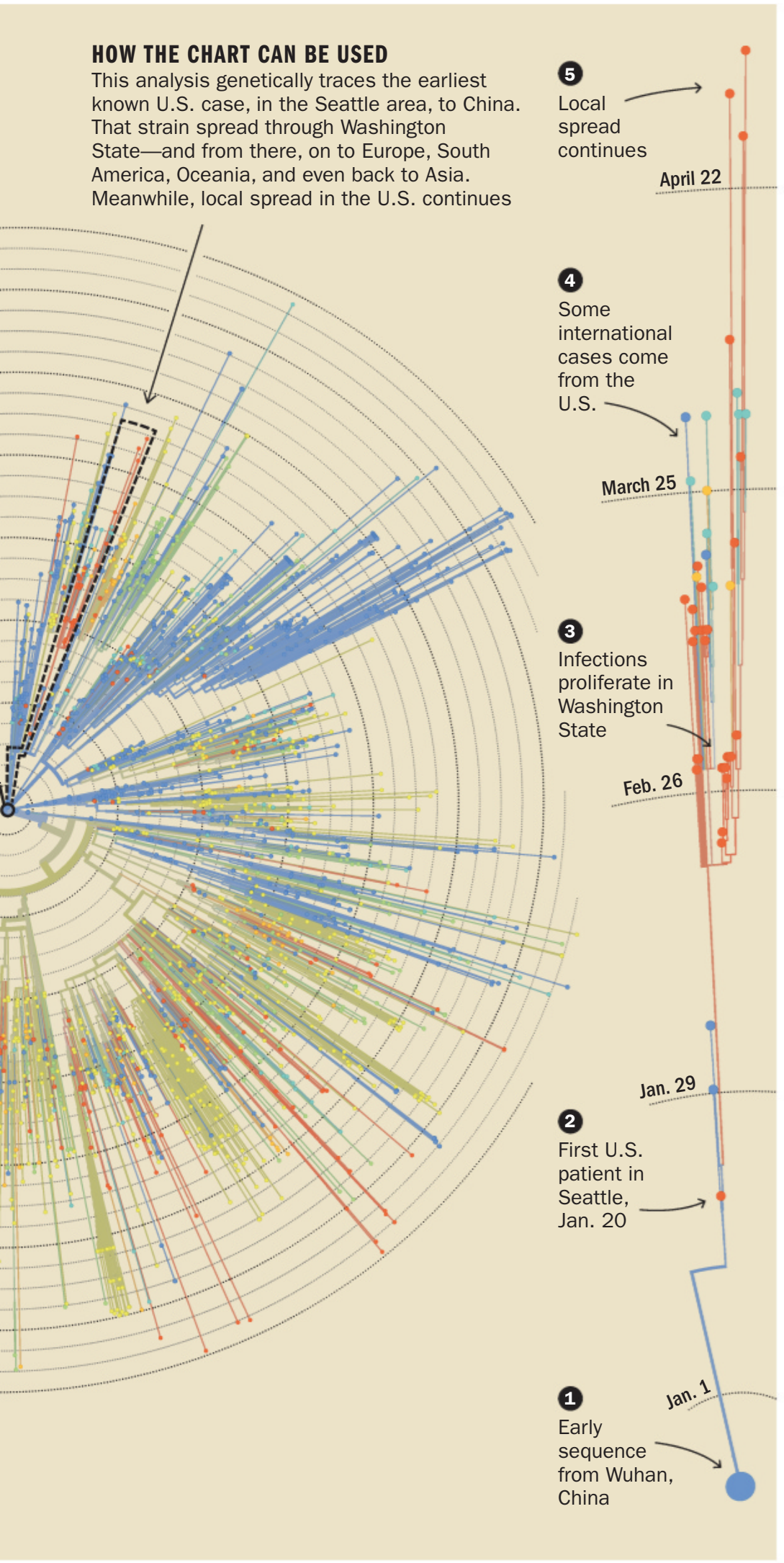
HOW DO MUTATIONS HAPPEN?

SARS-CoV-2 uses healthy human cells to replicate itself. Once in the cell, it releases genetic material—about 30,000 letters of code. But small variations in the code are introduced during the copying process, leading to slight mutations



NOTE: NUMBER OF SAMPLES IN A REGION IS NOT INDICATIVE OF NUMBER OF CASES IN THAT REGION
SOURCE: NEXTSTRAIN; DATA PULLED JULY 20, 2020

TIME GRAPHIC BY EMILY BARONE AND LON TWEETEN


HOW THE CHART CAN BE USED
This analysis genetically traces the earliest known U.S. case, in the Seattle area, to China. That strain spread through Washington State—and from there, on to Europe, South America, Oceania, and even back to Asia. Meanwhile, local spread in the U.S. continues
5
Local spread continues
April 22
4
Some international cases come from the U.S.
March 25
3
Infections proliferate in Washington State
Feb. 26
Jan. 29
2
First U.S. patient in Seattle, Jan. 20
1
Early sequence from Wuhan, China
Jan. 1

virtual watering hole for scientists—and increasingly public-health officials—who want to view trends and patterns in the virus's genetic changes that can help inform decisions about how to manage infections.

If genetic sequencing is the new language for managing infectious-disease outbreaks, then the mutations that viruses generate are its alphabet. If paired with information on how infected patients fare in terms of their symptoms and the severity of their illness, genomic surveillance could reveal useful clues about which strains of virus are linked to more severe disease. It might shed light on the mystery of why certain victims of the virus are spared lengthy hospital stays and life-threatening illness. As nations start to reopen, and before a vaccine is widely available, such genetic intel could help health care providers to better plan for when and where they will need intensive-care facilities to treat new cases in their community.

Genetic information is also critical to developing the most effective drugs and vaccines. Knowing the sequence of SARS-CoV-2 enabled Moderna Therapeutics to produce a shot ready for human testing in record time: just two months from when the genetic sequence of SARS-CoV-2 was first posted. Even after a vaccine is approved and distributed, continuing to track genetic changes in SARS-CoV-2 to ensure it's not mutating to resist vaccine-induced immunity will be critical. The data collected by Nextstrain will be crucial to help vaccine researchers tackle mutations, potentially for years to come. Already, the group advises the WHO on the best genetic targets for the annual flu shot, and it plans to do the same for COVID-19. "We can track the areas of the virus targeted by the vaccine, and check the mutations," says Emma Hodcroft from the University of Basel, who co-developed Nextstrain. "We can predict how disruptive those mutations are to the vaccine or not and tell whether the vaccines need an update."

Meanwhile, genetic surveillance provides real-time data on where the virus is going and how it's changing. "This is the first time during an outbreak that lots of different researchers and institutes are sharing sequencing data," says Barbara Bartolini, a virologist at the Lazzaro Spallanzani National Institute for Infectious Diseases in Rome, who has sequenced dozens of viral samples from patients in Italy. That information is giving public-health experts more precise information on the whereabouts of its viral enemy that no traditional disease-tracking method can supply.

AFTER DIAZ'S PATIENT tested positive for SARS-CoV-2, Washington State public-health officials diligently traced the places the patient had been and the people he'd come in contact with. He had taken a ride-share from the airport, gone to work and enjoyed lunch at a seafood restaurant near his office with col-

leagues. But because so little was known about the virus at the time, these contact tracers were focusing mostly on people with symptoms of illness—and at the time, none of the patient's contacts reported them. The genetics, however, told a different story.

Seattle happened to have launched a program in 2018 to track flu cases by collecting samples from patients in hospitals and doctors' offices, sites on college campuses, homeless shelters, the city's major international airport and even from volunteers with symptoms who agreed to swab their nasal passages at home. Those that were positive for influenza and other respiratory illnesses had their samples genetically sequenced to trace the diseases' spread in the community. As COVID-19 began to emerge in the Seattle area at the end of February, Bedford and his colleagues began testing samples collected in this program for SARS-CoV-2, regardless of whether people reported symptoms or travel to China, then the world's hot spot for the virus. That's how they found WA2, the first case in Washington that wasn't travel-related. By comparing samples from WA1, WA2 and other COVID-19 cases, they figured out that SARS-CoV-2 was circulating widely in the community in February.

If that community-based sequencing work had been conducted earlier, there's a good chance it might have picked up cases of COVID-19 that traditional disease-tracking methods, which at the time focused only on travel history and symptoms, missed. That would have helped officials make decisions about a lockdown sooner, and might have helped to limit spread of the virus. SARS-CoV-2 moves quickly but mutates relatively slowly, for a virus—generating only about two mutations every month in its genome. For drug and vaccine developers, it means the virus can still evade new treatments designed to hobble it. Those same changes serve as passport stamps for its global trek through the world's population, laying out the itinerary of the virus's journey for geneticists like Bedford. The cases in the initial Seattle cluster, he says, appear to have all been connected, through a single introduction directly from China to the U.S. in mid- to late January. Until the end of February, most instances of SARS-CoV-2 in the U.S. piggybacked on unwitting travelers from China. But as the pandemic continued, that changed.

Genetic analysis confirmed that on Feb. 26, SARS-CoV-2 had already hit a new milestone, with the first documented case that it had successfully jumped to a new host in Santa Clara, Calif., one with no travel history to the infectious-disease hot spots in China or known contact with anyone who had traveled there. It's not clear how this person got infected, but genetic sequencing showed this patient passed on the virus to two health care workers while being treated in the hospital—and that the virus was already spreading in the community, without help from imported cases.

Bedford's team began to see mutations in samples from Seattle that matched samples from people in Europe and the U.S.'s East Coast. "At the beginning we could kind of draw a direct line from viruses circulating in China to viruses circulating in the Seattle area," says Bedford. "Later, we see that viruses collected from China have some mutations that were seen later in Europe, and those same mutations were seen in viruses in New York. So, we can draw another line from China to Europe to New York" and then on to Seattle. The virus had begun multiple assaults into the U.S.

AROUND THE WORLD, virologists were seeing similar stories written in the genes of SARS-CoV-2. In January, a couple from Hubei province arrived in Rome, eager to take in the sights of the historic European city. By Jan. 29, they were hospitalized at Lazzaro Spallanzani National Institute for Infectious Diseases with fever and difficulty breathing. Tests confirmed they were positive for SARS-CoV-2.

Bartolini, a virologist at the hospital, and her colleagues compared the genetic sequences from a sample taken from the wife to sequences posted on GISAID. The Italian researchers found it matched five other samples from patients as far-flung as France, Taiwan, the U.S. and Australia. SARS-CoV-2 was clearly already on a whirlwind tour of the planet.

Not all strains of SARS-CoV-2 are equally virulent; some branches of its genetic tree are likely to grow larger and sprout further offshoots, while others terminate more quickly, says Harm van Bakel, assistant professor of genetics and genomic sciences at the Icahn School of Medicine at Mount Sinai. His team conducted the first genetic sequencing analysis of cases in New York City, which quickly became a U.S. hot spot; by March the city had seen a half a dozen or so separate introductions of SARS-CoV-2, but only two resulted in massive spread of the virus. The remainder petered out without transmitting widely.

Retrospectively, there's no way to tell for sure if these two strains were simply in the right place at the right time—in a particularly densely populated area of the city, for example, or in an area where people

70,000

Number of SARS-CoV-2 samples—and counting—that have been genetically sequenced and uploaded to GISAID, an open-source online database, since the virus was first sequenced; it took years to map 1,600 Ebola samples in the 2010s

congregated and then dispersed to other parts of the city—or if they were actually more infectious. But determining the genetic code of a circulating virus early may help scientists and governments decide which strains are worth worrying about and which aren't.

From analyzing genetic sequences from 36 samples of patients in Northern California, Dr. Charles Chiu, professor of laboratory medicine and infectious diseases at the University of California, San Francisco, says it might have been possible to identify the major circulating strains and track how they spread if more testing were available to know who was infected—and use this information to guide quarantine and containment practices. "There was a window of opportunity that if we had more testing and more contact-tracing capacities available early on, we likely would have prevented the virus from gaining a foothold at least in California," he says.

There were similar missed opportunities in Chicago, where genetic sequencing of 88 viruses revealed that the outbreak resulted from three main strains. One was similar to those circulating in New York; one was closely related to the Washington cases and a third never spread appreciably outside the Chicago area. This suggests that stricter travel restrictions might have helped limit introduction of the virus and transmission in northern Illinois.

Ongoing genetic sequencing can also help officials tailor narrower strategies to quell the spread of a virus. It wasn't long after Beijing reopened following two months of lockdown that infections began creeping up again in June. Sequencing of the new cases revealed that the viruses circulating at the time shared similarities with viruses found in patients in Europe, suggesting the cases were new introductions of SARS-CoV-2 and not lingering virus from the original outbreak. That helped the Chinese government decide to implement only limited lockdowns and testing of people in specific apartment blocks around a food market where the cluster of cases emerged, rather than resort to a citywide quarantine.

And there are other, less obvious ways that genetic analysis of SARS-CoV-2 could help to predict surges in cases as people emerge from lockdown. Italian scientists have sampled wastewater from sewage treatment plants in northern cities where the pandemic flourished, and found evidence of SARS-CoV-2 weeks before the first cases showed up to flood the hospitals. In La Crosse, Wis., Paraic Kenny, director of the Kabara Cancer Research Institute of the Gundersen Health System, applied the same strategy in his hometown in the spring. A few weeks later, in mid-June, when cases of COVID-19 surged because of bars reopening in downtown La Crosse, Kenny compared samples from infected people with the viral genomes in his wastewater samples. They were a genetic match. The same strain of SARS-CoV-2 had been circulating in the community weeks before the cases were reported. "In principle, an approach like this can be used to not just ascertain how much virus is in the community, but maybe give hospitals and public-health departments a warning of when to anticipate a surge in cases," he says. The goal is to know not just where we are today but where we will be a week or two from now.

'We're going to have a small window of opportunity to put in place infrastructure to prevent it from ever happening again.'

—MAUREEN MILLER, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

IT HAS BEEN 100 YEARS since an infectious disease pushed the entire world's population into hiding to the extent that COVID-19 has. And the primary approaches we take to combatting emerging microbes today are likewise centuries old: quarantine, hygiene and social distancing. We may never learn exactly where SARS-CoV-2 came from, and it's clearly too late to prevent it from becoming a global tragedy. But extraordinary advances in scientific knowledge have given us new tools, like genetic sequencing, for a more comprehensive understanding of this virus than anyone could have imagined even a decade or two ago. These are already providing clues about how emerging viruses like SARS-CoV-2 operate and, most important, how they can be thwarted with more effective drugs and vaccines.

This knowledge can save millions of lives—as long as science leads over politics. As unprecedented as this pandemic seems, in both scope and speed, it shouldn't have caught the world by surprise. For decades, scientific experts have been warning that emerging zoonotic viruses are a threat to humanity of the greatest magnitude. "People keep using the term *unprecedented*. I'll tell you, biologically, there is nothing unprecedented about this virus really," says Holmes, the evolutionary biologist. "It's behaving exactly as I would expect a respiratory virus to behave." It's simply how viruses work, have always worked and will continue to work. The sooner we accept that, the sooner we can act on that knowledge to control outbreaks more quickly and efficiently.

—With reporting by JAMIE DUCHARME/NEW YORK, MADELINE ROACHE/LONDON *and* JOHN WALCOTT/WASHINGTON

NO PLACE TO SHELTER

Constance Woodson worked hard all her life. How did she end up homeless in the middle of a pandemic?

BY BELINDA LUSCOMBE

A FEW DAYS AFTER HER 60TH BIRTHDAY, Constance Woodson took in the early-June sun on a bench in New York City's Madison Square Park. Masked, except when she sipped her coffee, she reflected on her luck. The good news was that, in the midst of a pandemic, she had secured a job, as a contact tracer. She could do it from her home, with a company-issued laptop and headset. The bad news was that her current home was a room in a hotel—provided by New York City's Department of Homeless Services (DHS)—where, she was informed, laptops were not permitted and wi-fi was not provided. Woodson had finally found a job that might get her out of her long struggle with homelessness, but she couldn't do it, because she was homeless.

The DHS caseworkers at the Best Western Bowery Hanbee eventually told her she could bring in the laptop. But there was still the wi-fi issue, and then Woodson would have to figure out how to do a sensitive task with a roommate who liked to watch Disney cartoons day and night with the blinds drawn, and without chairs or lamps. They had been removed, she was told, because the hotel was being sold. "The system is not designed to move you forward," she says. "I don't want to sound like I'm complaining, but it's been heartbreak after heartbreak."

At last count, in 2019, more than 560,000 Americans were homeless, and 16.5% of them—about 92,000 people—were in New York State. New York City has the highest number of homeless people of any metropolitan area in the U.S., although Washington, D.C., has the highest per capita, and because of New York City's extensive shelter system, Los Angeles has far more people living on the streets. According to the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), 40% of homeless people are African American, like Woodson.

Homelessness has recently been getting worse, with a 3% increase in the number of homeless people just in the past year. But, says Nan Roman, head of the National Alliance to End Homelessness, "there's never been anything like this." One Columbia University analysis of unemployment figures suggested that by the end of 2020, homelessness would increase by 40%. In July, about 44.5 million Americans told the Household Pulse Survey takers at the Census Bureau that they either hadn't made last month's mortgage or rent payment on time or doubted they could make the next one. Unless Congress acts, the moratorium on evicting people from most federally subsidized housing will run out at the end of July. "Starting on July 25, 2020, landlords must give 30-day notice before pursuing eviction for nonpayment between March 27, 2020, and July 24, 2020," says a HUD official. The Aspen Institute estimates that by October, 1 in 5 American renters could face eviction.

The world they will encounter is, to be generous, not very compassionate. Even before the pandemic, Woodson was kept at such distance and treated with

"I get up every morning and say, 'What can I do?'" says Woodson

PHOTOGRAPHS BY KHOLOOD EID FOR TIME

Woodson holds a yoga warrior pose in Central Park on July 16

such suspicion that she often felt as if she were contagious. In the COVID era, life for unsheltered people has gotten even more desperate. John Sheehan, director of ecumenical outreach services for Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church in New York, who has been working among the homeless community for 40 years and who has known Woodson since 2018, says it's not just that people have nowhere to go, no bathrooms to use, and fewer places to sleep, it's that even the few dollars they used to get from passersby have dried up with the lack of foot traffic. "They've lost all the connections to the community," says Sheehan. "I met one of my regular clients, and he said he hadn't eaten for three days."

PEOPLE END UP with nowhere to live for myriad reasons, but there is one constant: it's much easier to lose a home than to get a new one. Eight years ago, when her mother died after a three-year illness, Woodson discovered the family owed so much money on the home the two of them had lived in with Woodson's daughter, Joelle, that the bank was repossessing it. Since then, her opportunities for stable housing have flattened like a slowly leaking tire. The experience has upended not only her sense of security but also her self-image. "I do not recognize this person that I have become," says Woodson, who says at one point she briefly considered suicide. "I keep trying to figure out how I got here, what I did wrong."

Woodson's story is not full of dramatic mistakes. She recalls her childhood as middle-class; her father was a musician, and her mom worked in HR at the University of Missouri–Kansas City. It was, she says, "domestically turbulent"; her parents divorced when she was young, and her mother got the house. Woodson has worked most of her life, including seven years in health care administration and 13 as a manicurist at a high-end spa. In 2008, she got a degree in organizational leadership and development from Rockhurst University. With the aid of scholarships, she and her ex-husband put Joelle through Kansas City's prestigious Pembroke Hill School, and the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (RPI) in New York.

But the foreclosure revealed how precarious her situation really was. By many estimates, homeownership is the most reliable wealth-building vehicle the American economic factory has ever produced. Home equity allows people to get money when they need it, which delivers them from many financial perils. It can also help them to accrue and pass along wealth. Paying off a home, however, requires not only a certain level of income but a reliable one. Otherwise, people can end up worse off than they started. Labor Department figures show that in April, on the heels of the economic shutdown, fewer than half of all African Americans were employed, the lowest rate in four decades.

In the first quarter of 2020, 74% of white people owned their homes, whereas only 44% of Black people did. This is due in part to discriminatory practices over the years that have limited Black people's access to homes in certain areas and to mortgages, especially those at attractive interest rates. This disparity in ownership is one of the reasons that, in 2016, the median Black household wealth was $13,024 while the median white household had $149,703. The loss of a home, moreover, doesn't affect just one generation. When RPI closed its dorms for the summer, Joelle took low-paying employment as a camp counselor just to ensure a roof over her head. "What freaks me out is the fragility of everything," Joelle says. "There's a very thin line between having a roof and not having a roof."

As the few jobs following the spa's closure dried up, Woodson did what most people do when they have to move out and don't have much money: she moved

around from city to city, staying with friends or family, bartering her car for rent, dipping into her savings and pet-sitting. By 2016, Kansas City no longer felt like home, so she decided to join her daughter in New York. She bought a one-way ticket east, and arrived on the day Joelle graduated.

While she looked for work, Woodson bunked in with Joelle and her three roommates, but she was never able to pay much rent, and after about a year, the situation grew tense. Joelle, 26, paid for so many Airbnbs that she too began to get into financial difficulty. She still gives her mother as much money as she can spare, but she can't afford a place for them both on her salary. "I worry about my mother every single day," says Joelle, who works for a communications and marketing agency. "There's a limit to what you can actually do. You hope there's some other system that can pick up what you can't, but there's actually not."

Woodson is resourceful, funny and plucky. Sheehan says she's always advising other participants in his programs on where to find meals or a bed. She's a client advocate at the Coalition for the Homeless. She gets SNAP food benefits ($194 a month) and keeps her Medicaid up to date, but has never been on welfare. But on March 20, when New York Governor Andrew Cuomo imposed the stay-at-home order, none of that was enough.

First, a church-run shelter Woodson used most Sundays to get a decent sleep (and where I occasionally volunteer) closed. Then the drop-in center where she sometimes scored a chair for the night halved its intake. One of her daughter's roommates had been in contact with someone who had the virus, so Woodson couldn't go there. The now deserted streets became an even less safe place for a woman on her own to sleep. Many of the soup kitchens closed, as they figured out how to feed people safely. Woodson, who had always resisted entering a city-run shelter, believing she was better off on her own, finally applied for a place. "I thought, I'm resilient, I've been through so much," she says. "I can just do this for a few months, until I get a job."

The DHS has helped countless people get off the streets, but Woodson found it to be ill-suited to assist someone like her. Those who are the most vulnerable—physically disabled, mentally ill, addicted or formerly incarcerated—have particular programs to assist them with a place to live. Woodson is none of those things. She falls to the bottom of the list for those who need help. "They did a lot of blood tests and psych evaluations," she says. "They looked at me, and I could tell they didn't know what to do with me."

At first, she was assigned to the 200-bed Casa de Cariño in the Bronx, which had just become the first shelter to have a reported case of COVID-19. (The DHS says that as of July 16, it has found 1,358 people living in shelters or on the street with COVID-19; 1,189 of them have recovered, and 103 of them have died.) Terrified, she called Joelle, who called an old friend. He had an apartment in Brooklyn that was waiting for renters who had changed their minds when the virus hit. He let Woodson stay there while it was empty.

Having a place to go to, to cook, to stay allowed Woodson to recall what it was like to be regarded as just a person walking down the street instead of a "street person." She was not an outcast, not a problem. "It is so much better than I thought," she said after a few weeks there. "I'm in a neighborhood. There are all sorts of people wandering around. I'm just one of them."

'I KEEP TRYING TO FIGURE OUT HOW I GOT HERE, WHAT I DID WRONG.'

By the time the landlord needed his apartment, most New York City shelter residents had been moved to hotels. The Best Western seemed clean and safe, but having tasted autonomy, Woodson found the restrictions arbitrary and cruel. The staff were overwhelmed, and she could never get in to see her case manager. She says she even got to envying her roommate, "perfectly content watching her cartoons and stocking up on snacks."

Just as she began to sink into despair, a family from one of the churches she went to offered her their apartment; they had moved with their five kids to Texas for the summer. All she now needed was the equipment for her new job, but having no permanent address slowed the delivery, and a month passed before she was actually working. The family's lease is up at the end of July. As of press time, Woodson was not sure where she would go.

PERHAPS IF WOODSON has made any mistake, it is this: She hoped for too much. She hoped for more than America was prepared to offer a Black woman who has had some run-of-the-mill setbacks. She will not settle for cartoons and free snacks. Woodson doesn't want to be on welfare, doesn't want to be in the shelter system, doesn't want to just pick up jobs here and there. She wants meaningful work, independence and stability. She wants to be the one who can offer her daughter a place to stay during the pandemic.

Shopping for food at her local corner store in the Bronx, she can't find healthy options. She wants to ask the people there: "Why do you feel like this is what we should settle for?" But she doesn't. She just takes the long walk to Whole Foods and buys a little less. And she wants a place of her own. "I'm done with the shelter system," Woodson says. "My plan is never to return."

When she feels down, Woodson has two antidotes: yoga and the preacher T.D. Jakes, whom she listens to most mornings. "T.D. Jakes talks about mountains," she says. "You can't go around them. You have to go over them. My mom made the decision to get a reverse mortgage, and I can't get around it." Recently she was listening to a sermon about the beggars at the gates of Jerusalem. "I feel like that's me," she says. "I can see the gates, but I can't quite get through them."

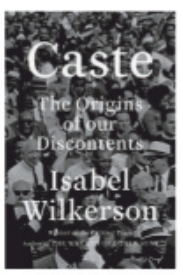
Despite it all, Woodson retains her positive outlook. She can't help but notice the kinds of problems she's been wrestling with for years have emerged in other people's lives during the pandemic. Suddenly everyone has to play by more rules; everyone is regarded with a little more suspicion; lots of people have limited access to public bathrooms. Suddenly there are many stories of men and women who face great uncertainty, worry about rent, have to think about whether there will be food that day. "People are worried about losing their houses. I know what that feels like," she says. "It's not, 'Look what I've gone through. Welcome to my world.' It's that I haven't felt so much like the outsider or the freak. I feel like now, finally, we're all in this together—and maybe we can have a conversation." ◻

NO JUSTI
NO PEACE
CAST
OUT
CASTE

CONFRONTING CASTE

Author Isabel Wilkerson reframes systemic inequality in the U.S.

BY JUSTIN WORLAND



ISABEL WILKERSON ARRIVED IN Detroit after an early-morning flight, eager to get to work. With just a day to complete interviews for a piece to be published in the New York *Times,* the journalist had little time to lose, but the workings of the universe had other plans. As she made her way through the terminal, a pair of strangers hounded her with questions. What were her travel plans? Where did she live? Why was she there? When would she leave?

Ordinary solicitors these were not. After following her to a rental-car shuttle, the strangers finally revealed themselves to be U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration agents. Their job was to protect the country from drug offenses, but all they'd accomplished was harassing a Black woman on a business trip.

In some ways, the story, from Wilkerson's highly anticipated book, *Caste: The Origins of Our Discontents,* will sound unexceptional to many people of color—just one of the myriad experiences of injustice that must be swept aside in order for us to get by in our everyday lives. "These things are so much a regular feature of life for people of color in this country and African Americans in particular," she says in an interview over Zoom. But in Wilkerson's skillful hands, the scene is imbued with a deeper meaning. Her experience at the airport becomes both prosaic and outrageous, both personal and a universal condemnation of the society we've built. "The quiet mundanity of that terror has never left me," she writes, "the scars outliving the cut."

Wilkerson, winner of a Pulitzer Prize for feature writing and author of the best-selling 2010 book *The Warmth of Other Suns,* builds on her previous success in her new book, *Caste,* which will be published Aug. 4. Like her earlier work, *Caste* blends history, sociology and a range of other reportage to tell the story of American inequality. But this time, Wilkerson offers a transformative new framework through which to understand identity and injustice in America. Instead of relying on concepts like racism—which Wilkerson sees as too narrow—she argues for understanding the U.S. social hierarchy as a caste system: a deeply entrenched yet artificial method of categorizing people by birth.

ILLUSTRATION BY XIA GORDON FOR TIME

The book is the result of more than a decade of research, but it's hard to imagine a more apt moment for its publication. The coronavirus pandemic has brought the disparate health challenges faced by African Americans to the fore. A series of videos of police brutality directed at Black Americans has led to a reckoning over systemic racism. And the U.S. President's re-election campaign capitalizes on the power of racial resentment. As Americans confront our own society's racial hierarchy, Wilkerson explains the root of this injustice and the role of each of us in perpetuating it.

Wilkerson's goal in writing *Caste* was not to dismantle this peculiar system of oppression but to conceptualize and explain it. She is a journalist, not an activist. And to that end, she has traveled to three continents to study other caste systems, credits countless experts and cites hundreds of books in a range of disciplines.

But even as Wilkerson builds her new framework of racial injustice in the U.S. on detached, scholarly analysis, her storytelling is personal. She studies caste because she lives it; she defines it as a means to defy it. "It was a personal act," she says of writing the book, "seeking to both understand and transcend the boundaries placed on me."

WILKERSON IS A PRIVATE PERSON. After booming onto the literary scene with *The Warmth of Other Suns,* she disappeared from publishing for more than a decade, quietly researching but telling virtually no one the details of her new project. Until announcing her new book, her social-media presence consisted largely of sharing others' work. This is Wilkerson's first on-the-record conversation about *Caste.*

So while I was disappointed that in the age of COVID-19 I would be able to meet Wilkerson only via Zoom, I suspected that it was her ideal setting, one that she could control. In the frame of the Zoom call, I can see white shelves crammed with the books that inspired her work (a mere "sliver" of the volumes she relied on, she says) and a small Buddha statue (she is an occasional meditator). The only two personal touches visible are tributes to her parents: a photo of her father in his military uniform, and two vases, one green and the other blue, her mother's favorite colors. Fitting choices because, in a sense, her parents' story is the origin of her life's work.

Wilkerson's mother left Georgia and her father left Virginia during the Great Migration, the 60-year period beginning around 1910 when millions of African Americans left the South for cities across the U.S. They met and settled in Washington, D.C. Wilkerson's father served in World War II as one of the Tuskegee Airmen, a group of African Americans revered in history books. But his work as a civil engineer after the war left a significant impression on Wilkerson too. "I literally am the daughter of a bridge builder," she says.

Her parents' story directly inspired *The Warmth of Other Suns,* which retraces and humanizes the history of the Great Migration through the lens of three primary characters and dozens of secondary ones seeking to create a better life for their families. It's an enthralling piece of narrative nonfiction, back on best-seller lists in recent weeks as Americans have sought to educate themselves about the country's fraught racial history. She explains the work as her own exercise in bridge building. "I see so rarely the voices and lives of ordinary African Americans who are wishing and wanting and dreaming and caring about the same things that every other American does," she says of the book's central narrative. "By excluding ordinary lives of ordinary African Americans, we miss an opportunity to recognize how much we all have in common."

Wilkerson displays a photo in her home of her father in his Tuskegee Airmen uniform

COURTESY ISABEL WILKERSON (2)

But it was in researching *The Warmth of Other Suns* that Wilkerson arrived at the topic of her next book, *Caste:* the idea that traditional conceptions of race and racism are inadequate in describing the circumstances facing Black Americans. In writing *The Warmth of Other Suns,* she chose to avoid the word *racism* entirely; it does not appear at all in the book. "*Racism* did not seem sufficient to describe the infrastructure that they were born into and that they were seeking to escape and restricted them at every turn," she explains.

Caste takes that epiphany and builds on it. The central argument of the book is that understanding the racialized systems of injustice that undergird American society requires a wider lens. It is not just that all Americans are born into a particular racial category based on our appearance and heritage; it is that no matter what we do in life, that category—that caste—remains immutable, fueling and powering the system itself. Wilkerson prefers the terminology of *caste* over *race* in part because *race* implicitly affirms the concept's pseudoscientific origins; Wilkerson masterfully undresses the work of eugenicists that has long since been disproved. The term *caste,* by contrast, acknowledges the man-made nature of systemic injustice. "We live in an artificial hierarchy, an infrastructure that was created and is not natural," she says.

In introducing the framework of an American caste system, Wilkerson draws on reams of scholarly research in sociology, history, anthropology and a range of other disciplines. Over the course of researching the book, she met with leading international scholars on caste; traveled to Berlin and Delhi, among other places, for primary research; and often found herself on tangents, spending months learning about the Siberian tundra, for example. The result is a rich and well-defended argument that draws a direct line between our system and those that defined Nazi Germany and that persist in India today.

The author at home in July as she prepares for the release of Caste, *her first book in a decade*

But if it's a scholarly work, it's also a personal one. Throughout the book, Wilkerson returns repeatedly to how the American caste affects and shapes her own life. On a trip to London, after telling an Indian scholar that she believes America has a caste system, he asks Wilkerson which caste she belongs to. "It was a refreshingly honest question," she tells me. The answer was obvious: "I had been born to what would be seen as a subordinate caste."

WILKERSON OFTEN SPEAKS in metaphor and analogy. She compares the U.S.'s history of slavery and racial violence to a deadly pathogen, long dormant under Arctic ice, emerging into the air. Awakening to the reality of living under a caste system, she says, is like learning of an inherited trait like alcoholism.

In *Caste,* Wilkerson's central metaphor is one of a house that has fallen into disrepair. The house is the U.S., and our caste system has caused the damage. Wilkerson, for her part, is the inspector, examining the roof and walls and pointing out what needs to be fixed. "People need to know where we have come from, what we have been through, where we happen to be right now, so that we can have a better sense of where we need to be going," she says. A dutiful inspector, Wilkerson doesn't prescribe a specific solution but does suggest a gut renovation could be in order. "That does not mean tearing down the whole house, but it does mean going to the heart of the problem," she says. "Clearing all of it away."

Caste could not have landed in more fertile soil—amid a mass protest movement, in an election year riven with more racial tension than any other in recent history. While Wilkerson doesn't focus much on electoral politics in the book, she offers on the Zoom call with me an incisive explanation of why many white, working-class people voted for Donald Trump. "There are people who will say that certain white, working-class Americans are voting against their own interests," she says, arguing that they miss the point. "Maintaining the hierarchy, as it has always been, *is* in the interest of many people." Indeed, the caste system, as she explains, is not a static thing; it evolves and adapts to stay viable. The definition of *whiteness* in the U.S. has expanded over the decades to include ethnic Irish and Italians, for example, because the previous definition was too small to sustain its position atop the hierarchy. But there's a limit to the hierarchy's ability to adapt: since the dawn of the U.S. caste system, Black Americans have remained at the lowest rung.

'WE LIVE IN AN ARTIFICIAL HIERARCHY, AN INFRASTRUCTURE THAT WAS CREATED AND IS NOT NATURAL.'

—ISABEL WILKERSON

This is a challenging reality for anyone trapped on the lower end, and despite her analytical approach to looking at caste, Wilkerson readily acknowledges the trauma of living it. "You can work hard and achieve in your chosen field, you can carry yourself with dignity and grace and professionalism, and still be reduced to a particular assumption, a stereotype," she says.

At the end of our talk, I return to the old-house analogy with a particular circumstance on my mind: in recent months, I've engaged my own parents in a conversation about selling their century-old home to move somewhere where they don't have to worry about the roofing and plumbing. I put a similar question to Wilkerson: Is there a time when we just give up on this old house?

Her answer alludes to the theme of her first book: millions of African Americans have already migrated, and there's nowhere else for them to go in this country. But after a moment, she reaches into her own story. "This is a country that my ancestors, along with millions, tens of millions, hundreds of millions of other people helped build," she says. "We have an investment in this country. We should be here." ◻

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Time Off

FULL STREAM AHEAD
As services multiply, a guide to where to find your favorite shows

INSIDE

WHY ARE WE STILL STUCK ON CHARLES MANSON?

ON DISNEY+, THE MUPPETS MAKE ANOTHER COMEBACK

A TIMELY NEW NOVEL FROM EMMA DONOGHUE

ILLUSTRATION BY DAN WOODGER FOR TIME

Time Off is reported by Mariah Espada and Josh Rosenberg

TELEVISION

New homes for bingeworthy shows

By Eliana Dockterman

BEFORE STRIKING GOLD WITH original series including *Stranger Things* and *The Crown,* Netflix captured and kept millions of subscribers by offering full seasons of popular shows like *30 Rock* and *The West Wing* on its service. Series that were overlooked during their early seasons, like *Breaking Bad,* gained millions of new fans on the streaming platform too.

Playing host to these programs carries tremendous value, especially during quarantine. Committing to a new show can be a risk—what if it jumps the shark in Season 2 or, worse, gets canceled during its prime? But revisiting critically vetted, familiar hits like *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* and *ER* is a reliable way to sate audiences looking for comfort binges.

As the streaming wars continue, networks and cable channels are launching their own streaming platforms—and outbidding Netflix for the rights to old, fan-favorite shows. Services like HBO Max and NBC's Peacock, both of which launched this summer, offer new series like the Anna Kendrick starrer *Love Life* or an ambitious adaptation of *Brave New World* to lure subscribers. But in order to hold on to those new customers, they're also building massive libraries of old content. HBO reportedly spent $425 million on the rights to *Friends,* while NBC bid $500 million for the rights to stream *The Office* beginning in January 2021.

Tracking where your favorite series are moving and when can be confusing. Networks that originally aired certain series don't necessarily retain the streaming rights. *Downton Abbey* has found a new home on Peacock even though the costume drama originally aired on ITV and PBS; CBS All Access is streaming *Twin Peaks* despite the fact that the mystery first debuted on ABC. To help you sort through the chaos, we've charted where you can stream some of the most bingeable series in television history.

TIME GRAPHIC BY LON TWEETEN AND KATIE KALUPSON

Gilmore Girls
2000–2007
The WB

The Office
2005–2013
NBC

The West Wing
1999–2006
NBC

The Sopranos
1999–2007
HBO

South Park
1997–
Comedy Central

Game of Thrones
2011–2019
HBO

The O.C.
2003–2007
FOX

NETFLIX

LAUNCH DATE **2007**
MONTHLY PRICE **$8.99–$15.99**
SUBSCRIBERS **193 million**

With theaters closed, Netflix may lead this year's Oscar race, with Spike Lee's *Da 5 Bloods* and upcoming films from David Fincher and Aaron Sorkin

Jane the Virgin
2014–2019
The CW

Monty Python's Flying Circus
1969–1974
BBC

Twin Peaks
1990–1991
ABC

Star Trek
1966–1969
NBC

Parks and Recreation
2009–2015
NBC

Sex and the City
1998–2004
HBO

HBO max

LAUNCH DATE **2020**
MONTHLY PRICE **$14.99**
SUBSCRIBERS **TBD**

HBO Max debuted this summer with a small selection of new shows, including *Love Life,* but also a robust back catalog of Warner Bros. movies like *Wonder Woman*

The Golden Girls
1985–1992
NBC

Fresh Off the Boat
2015–2020
ABC

The Mary Tyler Moore Show
1970–1977
CBS

hulu

LAUNCH DATE **2008**
MONTHLY PRICE, WITH ADS **$5.99**
WITHOUT ADS **$11.99**
SUBSCRIBERS **28 million**

Disney+

LAUNCH DATE **2019**
MONTHLY PRICE **$6.99**
SUBSCRIBERS **54.5 million**

Breakout *Mandalorian* star Baby Yoda made a splash when Disney+ launched. Disney has promised many more *Star Wars* and even Marvel series to come

The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air
1990–1996
NBC

Friends
1994–2004
NBC

The Wire
2002–2008
HBO

I Love Lucy
1951–1957
CBS

CBS ALL ACCESS

LAUNCH DATE **2014**
MONTHLY PRICE, WITH ADS **$5.99**
WITHOUT ADS **$9.99**
SUBSCRIBERS **11 million**
(INCLUDING SHOWTIME)

CBS offers a relatively small library. But Trekkies flock to the service for its two new *Star Trek* series—and *The Good Fight* might be TV's best legal drama

The Simpsons
1989–
FOX

That's So Raven
2003–2007
Disney Channel

Cheers
1982–1993
NBC

SOURCES: NBC; AMAZON; NETFLIX; HULU; DISNEY; HBO; CBS

"Manson girls" Leslie Van Houten, Susan Atkins and Patricia Krenwinkel, from left

TELEVISION

Charles Manson: the man, the myth, the misreading

By Judy Berman

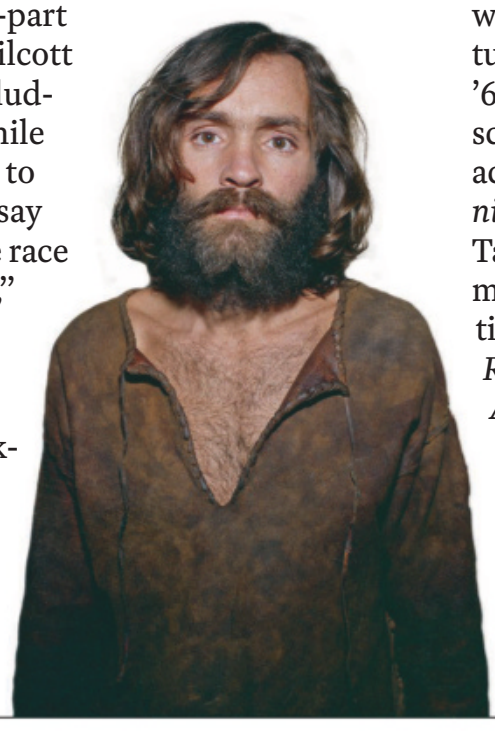
CHARLES MANSON NEVER RELEASED HIS GRIP ON THE American imagination. Since 1969, when his "Family" committed mass murder in L.A., he's inspired operas, YA novels, *South Park* episodes. But the years surrounding his 2017 death and the 50th anniversary of the slayings have seen a surge in Manson mania. Beyond Quentin Tarantino's *Once Upon a Time . . . in Hollywood,* Family lore has fueled Emma Cline's buzzy novel *The Girls,* Mary Harron's indie film *Charlie Says,* and parts of the shows *Mindhunter* and *American Horror Story.* Every month seems to bring a new memoir or podcast or TV special.

The latest is *Helter Skelter: An American Myth,* a six-part Epix docuseries from director and producer Lesley Chilcott *(An Inconvenient Truth),* with executive producers including the ubiquitous television creator Greg Berlanti. While schlocky Manson-ploitation projects make no attempt to avoid redundancy, *An American Myth* nobly aspires to say something new. As Chilcott sees it, the Black-vs.-white race war Manson prophesied—and dubbed "Helter Skelter," to help convince his followers that the Beatles' White Album was a coded message intended specifically for them—wasn't the true catalyst of the Tate-LaBianca murders. Manson, she argues, was simply a grifter looking to cover up earlier crimes and, ultimately, get famous. It's a canny thesis; if only it weren't submerged in such a conventional retelling of the Manson saga.

Chilcott presents an artful collage of archival footage, existing audio—including lengthy clips of Manson's mediocre music—and new conversations with former associates and experts. So-called Manson girls Catherine "Gypsy" Share and Dianne "Snake" Lake are the most fascinating; both women seem to regard their youth with a mix of nostalgia and horror. And although the show relegates too much of its argument to the last third of the finale, episodes that trace Manson's path through the penal system to Haight-Ashbury and L.A. illustrate how he absorbed ideas (like the sales psychology of Dale Carnegie) for reasons more practical than philosophical.

An American Myth might've worked better as a leaner, more daring essay film. The premiere contains quite a bit of material that's recycled in later episodes, to the extent that it feels like an hour-long trailer. More frustrating is that in avoiding voice-over narration, Chilcott makes her point through interviews that can contradict one another.

"When a child is treated the way he was, you're doomed," a childhood acquaintance of Manson's family reflects in the series



SOME OF THE BEST reconsiderations of the Manson Family in recent years have, like *An American Myth,* questioned how an ex-con in his mid-30s managed to amass an army of hippie kids ready to kill for him. *Mindhunter* plumbed his psyche. Cline and Harron delved into the minds of the women, many of them still in their teens in 1969. A remarkable season of Hollywood podcast *You Must Remember This* examined Manson's many connections to the film industry.

Tarantino got closest to capturing what remains salient in this story: its cultural legacy. As he suggests, it was in the '60s that Americans started rejecting old-school heroes in favor of the darker characters the Family represents (see: *Bonnie and Clyde,* and later *Taxi Driver*). But Tarantino repeats the mistake many have made, twisting these outliers into a cautionary tale about the counterculture—*Reefer Madness* on acid. Buried in *An American Myth* is a smart case for disentangling the Family and the hippies. If Manson believed in nothing, then his gospel of sex, drugs and rock 'n' roll was just as superficial as the racist fantasy of Helter Skelter.

HELTER SKELTER *debuts July 26 on Epix*

VAN HOUTEN, ATKINS, KRENWINKEL: L.A. PUBLIC LIBRARY; MANSON: EPIX

Bethan (Creevy) invents herself

TELEVISION

How to build a girl, Welsh style

"Speak from your heart," a teacher exhorts 16-year-old aspiring writer Bethan Gwyndaf (Gabrielle Creevy) early in the BBC's emotional Welsh dramedy *In My Skin.* That's easier said than done. At school, Bethan pretends to be carefree and posh. In reality, her mom (Jo Hartley) struggles with a debilitating mental illness; her dad (Rhodri Meilir) is a mean, neglectful drunk; and the family lives in squalor. Bethan ghosts her misfit pals to hang out with a gorgeous, popular girl (Zadeiah Campbell-Davies) but doesn't confront the implications of her romantic fantasies about this new friend. Just when she seems bound for punishment, writer Kayleigh Llewellyn zags into fresher territory.

A combination of black humor, raw depictions of trauma and authentic performances—Creevy won a Welsh BAFTA, and Hartley is heartbreaking—mark the series as part of the same wave of British TV that includes auteurs like Phoebe Waller-Bridge and Michaela Coel. Llewellyn may not be the public face of her show, the way those women are, but she too is speaking from the heart—and her message resonates. *—J.B.*

IN MY SKIN *makes its U.S. debut on July 30, exclusively on Hulu*

TELEVISION

New *Muppets*, same magic

FAWN OVER THE DIFFICULT MEN WHO create prestige TV if you must, but there's no harder task in screenwriting than making entertainment that appeals to viewers of all ages. Studio Ghibli films combine emotional realism, adorable animated characters and conservationist themes. *SpongeBob SquarePants* found a secondary stoner audience. But no franchise has mastered the art of delighting the whole family quite like the Muppets.

So it will surely come as a relief to parents four months into quarantine who simply cannot stomach another *Trolls* rewatch that Kermit and company are back. With *Muppets Now,* Disney+ attempts to recapture the magic of *The Muppet Show,* the variety extravaganza that paired Jim Henson's fuzzy menagerie with the biggest human stars of the 1970s. Former stage manager Scooter has evolved into a showrunner scrambling to upload each episode of *Muppets Now.* Sadly, that means the show's main setting is not the lively, puppet-packed vaudeville theater of the original but the flat plane of his computer screen.

Thankfully, the core of this sketch comedy is its recurring segments, most of which are very fun. Miss Piggy reinvents herself as a porcine Gwyneth Paltrow in "Lifestyle" (emphasis on the "sty") and channels her timeless narcissism into deranged celebrity interviews. ("What is your favorite very personal story that your publicist has ever written for you?" she purrs at Aubrey Plaza.) "Muppet Labs" has Bunsen and Beaker making glorious messes in the name of science. My favorite regular segment is a cooking competition that pits the chaotic, always hilarious Swedish Chef against the likes of chef Roy Choi and national treasure Danny Trejo to whip up dishes from around the world. Much flour is spilled.

The Muppets have always been funniest when spoofing showbiz, and the same is true of *Muppets Now.* Though it lacks some of the warmth and sophistication of *The Muppet Show,* its characters have been smartly updated for the streaming era. *Muppets Now* guest-stars Statler and Waldorf, those patron saints of TV critics, who would probably deliver a harsher review. But kids won't care how it compares with its predecessor. And as an adult in anxious times, who wouldn't forgive minor flaws if it means spending time in such soothing company? —J.B.

MUPPETS NOW *comes to Disney+ on July 31*

Wocka wocka! Hapless comedian Fozzie Bear returns to TV

IN MY SKIN: HULU; MUPPETS NOW: DISNEY+

MOVIES

Madame Curie, revealed

By Stephanie Zacharek

Pike as Marie Curie: a woman of science, and of mystery

BECAUSE THEY WILL REMAIN RADIOACTIVE FOR centuries, Marie Curie's notebooks have to be kept in lead-lined boxes in their home, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Similarly, Marjane Satrapi's inventive and galvanizing sort-of biopic *Radioactive* takes on a subject that's almost too hot to handle: we like to think that serious-minded geniuses aren't so much like you and me, that they're untroubled by the vagaries of sorrow or anxiety or sexual desire that plague the rest of us. It's almost taboo to try to imagine the inner life of any rigorous scientific thinker, particularly one who was awarded two Nobel Prizes in a lifetime, in two distinct disciplines.

But human lives are made up of poetry as well as science, and *Radioactive* faces that truth head-on. Though Satrapi stays fairly close to the facts, she sometimes presents them with a flourish of fairy-tale dust. If that sounds disrespectful, the effect is more often the opposite: seeing Curie's doubts and fragilities casts her accomplishments in an even more radical light. Satrapi—whose source material is a graphic novel by Lauren Redniss—and her lead actor, Rosamund Pike, have to imagine some of those personal details, but none seem too far-fetched, considering we're talking about a woman whose death was hastened by her contact with the very radioactive elements she helped discover. More than once, Satrapi shows Curie clutching a vial of glowing green danger; she was in thrall to its mysteries for better or worse.

Curie unlocked many of those mysteries, though in the end, they exceeded even her magnificent capabilities. Satrapi finds tragic beauty in those limitations, and Pike, in a performance that's both regal and raw, puts a face to both the triumphs and sorrows of Curie's legacy. Early on, we see Marie and her eventual husband Pierre—played with a resplendent sense of calm by Sam Riley—as they meet cute in Paris, circa 1894, literally colliding in the street. Marie, a disciplined scientist but also a Polish immigrant, is struggling to make her way in a hostile academic setting; Pierre offers her some much needed laboratory space. They start out as colleagues, sharing their questions about the world as well as the answers they find. Then they fall in love. On their honeymoon in the French countryside, they swim naked and later lie side by side on a blanket, the sunlight blinking in wonder all around them. Later, back in Paris, they make love, and the camera swirls away from their entwined bodies on a cloud of sparkle dust, reaching toward a luminous moon. This is how two brilliant scientists conceive a child.

DON'T LAUGH: it's these imaginative touches that give *Radioactive* its charm, and its heart. Satrapi takes some chances that don't work: here and there she jumps out of Curie's story with stylized re-enactments showing radiation's benefits (as a cancer treatment) and its capacity to kill (the Chernobyl disaster). The transitions between these sequences and Curie's story aren't always graceful.

But a flawed movie with life in its veins is better than a pristine one that's dead on arrival. Satrapi made her name with the autobiographical comic book *Persepolis,* which she later adapted into a marvelous animated film. She brings an animator's touch to *Radioactive,* an often fanciful-looking picture that nevertheless holds tight to its dignity. As Pike plays her, Curie is so single-minded, so driven, that you wonder if she's in touch with her feelings. But when tragedy slashes at her life, her grief pours out in a flood that's almost unbearably painful to watch. This Madame Curie is not fully knowable and a little dangerous. No wonder she clings to that glowing vial, whose contents bring her death and no small measure of unhappiness, even as they ensure that we'll never forget her.

RADIOACTIVE *streams on Amazon Prime beginning July 24*

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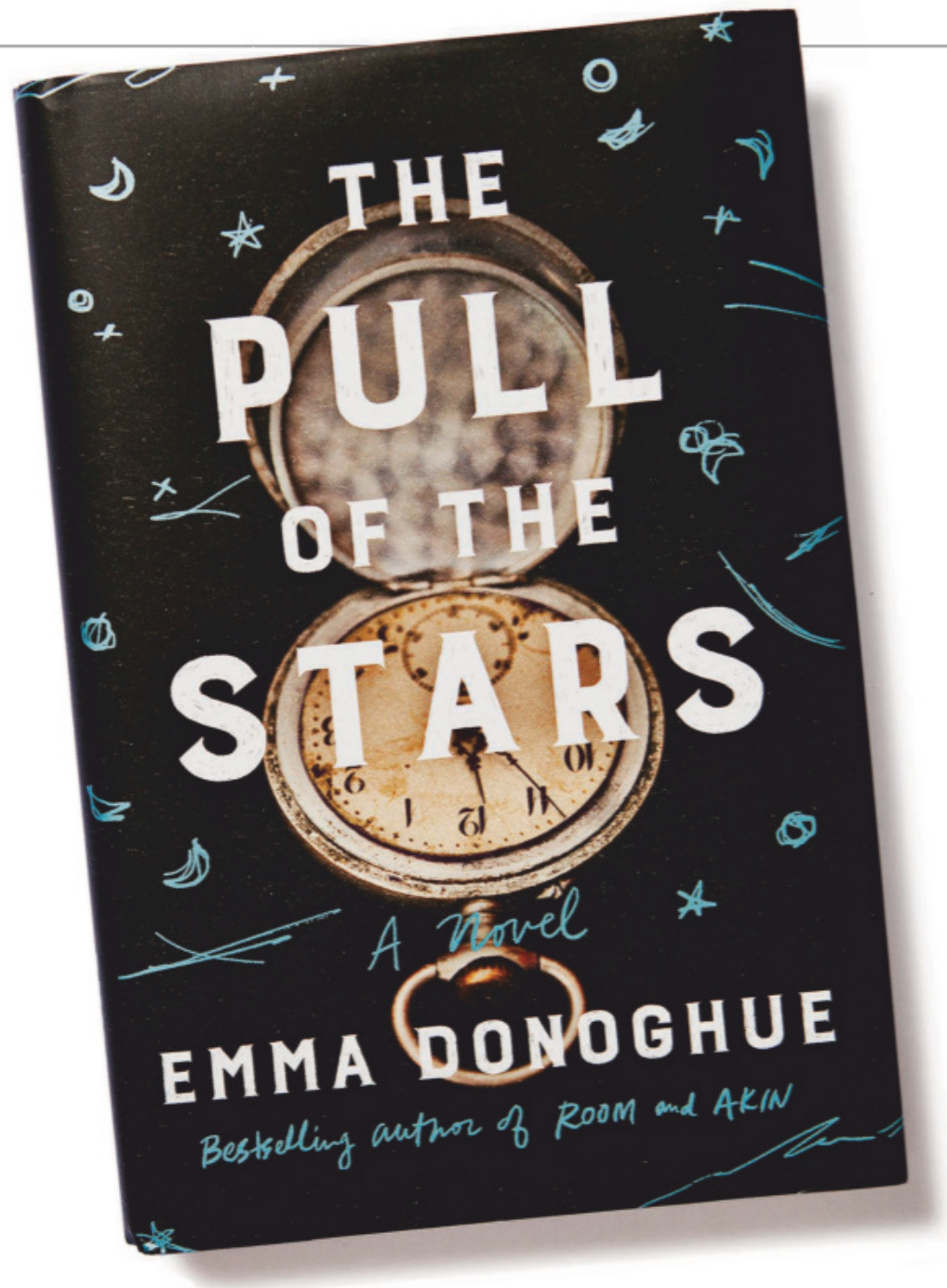
BOOKS

A familiar crisis

By Eliana Dockterman



Donoghue began working on this novel, about the 1918 flu, long before the coronavirus pandemic

EMMA DONOGHUE GOES TO DARK PLACES. HER most famous work, 2010's *Room,* centered on a woman who had been kidnapped, raped and forced by her captor to raise her child in a one-room shed. Her 2014 novel *Frog Music* took place in 1870s San Francisco during a smallpox epidemic. Stressful premises like these make for page-turning books—every decision a protagonist makes in these circumstances is life-or-death. And Donoghue's latest novel is both urgent and eerily prescient: *The Pull of the Stars* is set in a maternity ward in a Dublin hospital during the 1918 flu pandemic. The author submitted her manuscript to Little, Brown, in March, when the COVID-19 outbreak was starting to shut down European and U.S. cities; the publisher rushed the book to print.

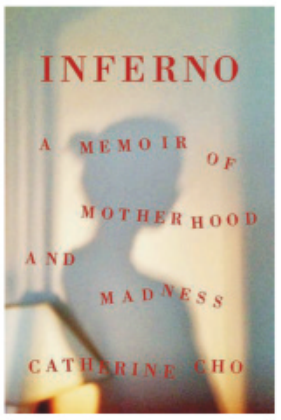
The protagonist of *The Pull of the Stars,* a nurse named Julia, runs a temporary ward for pregnant women who have been infected. The hospital can barely spare a doctor—they're all fighting in the Great War or sick with influenza themselves—so Julia must coach these women through harrowing deliveries with the help of a sole volunteer, an abused orphan named Bridie. As she did in *Room,* Donoghue masterfully conjures a suffocating space, this time the glorified closet where Julia helps women give birth. The majority of the action takes place in the single room with a handful of women rotating in and out of its three beds. One heroic physician occasionally materializes: the real-life suffragette and activist Dr. Kathleen Lynn, who served as chief medical officer of the 1916 Easter Rising against the British and who would eventually win a seat in the Irish Parliament.

THE TIMELINESS of Donoghue's premise proves more than a gimmick. Her analysis of how pandemics place an undue burden on women resonates in today's crisis: women make up the majority of essential workers and health care workers fighting COVID-19 in the U.S., and working mothers are covering the lion's share of childcare labor while schools are closed. As many wonder what the setbacks that have resulted from the pandemic may mean for women's equality, Donoghue's book recounts a frightening history we must not repeat.

In her depiction of 1918 Ireland, women are treated as little more than baby conveyors and unpaid childcare providers. Society perceives these women's abilities to create life not as a choice but as a duty to church and state. "She doesn't love him," nurses grimly repeat, "unless she gives him twelve." On the rare occasions when male doctors do appear, away from the watchful eye of Dr. Lynn, their priorities lie with ensuring their patients' abilities to bear more children, often at the expense of the health of women. The sickening prospect of a doctor sawing through a patient's pubic bones during a delivery hangs over each woman who enters the ward. (Donoghue clearly reveled in her research on early 20th century medicine. This novel is not for the squeamish.)

Donoghue emphasizes parallels between the women suffering in hospitals and their husbands and brothers suffering in the trenches. An orderly dismisses the idea of women's right to vote: "Don't pay the blood tax, though, do you? Not like we fellows do. Ought you really get a say in the affairs of the United Kingdom unless you're prepared to lay down your lives for the king?" Julia shoots back, "Look around you … This is where every nation draws its first breath. Women have been paying the blood tax since time began."

The characters themselves in *The Pull of the Stars* are thinner than those in some of Donoghue's past books, but the nonstop action of the maternity ward is so compelling that it hardly matters. She omits quotation marks from dialogue so that spoken words drift in between thoughts. As a result, the entire narrative feels like a flu-induced dream—a prophetic one we should all heed, lest we slip back in time. ◻



BOOKS

Sensing self

Catherine Cho was unfamiliar with postpartum psychosis until she was diagnosed with the disorder. In her aching memoir *Inferno,* Cho recalls being consumed with worry about the physical tolls of pregnancy. "It had never occurred to me that I might lose my mind," she writes after being admitted to a psychiatric ward.

In *Inferno,* Cho reveals how she got there. The London-based author and her husband James had decided to take a trip to the U.S. with their 2-month-old baby Cato in tow, looking forward to introducing their child to relatives on the other side of the Atlantic. But as tensions arose with James' parents in New Jersey, Cho hit a breaking point and was involuntarily committed to a psychiatric facility. In *Inferno,* she expertly builds up to this moment, writing in precise and striking terms about what it's like to slowly, and then suddenly, lose one's grip on reality.

Cho offers an unfiltered look into the realities of postpartum psychosis, a battle to reconnect with her mind and body that is marked by haunting experiences recounted vulnerably, like her struggle to connect with photographs of her son. In the ward, aware that parts of herself have gone missing but unable to tell which parts or how, Cho models a brave path of self-discovery. —*A.G.*

LEILANI: NINA SUBIN

BOOKS

An unexpected invitation

By Annabel Gutterman

AFTER BEING FIRED FROM HER JOB IN book publishing, Edie, the narrator of Raven Leilani's blistering debut novel *Luster,* accepts an invitation to live in suburban New Jersey. It's there that Eric, the white middle-aged man she's been dating, shares a home with his wife and their 12-year-old adopted daughter Akila. But Eric isn't the one to offer Edie, a Black 23-year-old from Brooklyn, a place to stay. Instead, the invitation comes from Rebecca, Eric's wife.

Among these four characters, Leilani establishes a tense dynamic that simmers throughout *Luster,* with Edie at the center. Eric and Rebecca have an open marriage, and Edie doesn't know exactly where she fits into their relationship. Rebecca pushes Edie closer toward Akila, who is Black, struggling socially and—until Edie's arrival—surrounded solely by white people. Is this why Rebecca wanted Edie in their home? It's a question that the protagonist wrestles with, especially as she grows closer with the young girl.

As Edie spends more time with Rebecca, the two women share increasingly intimate experiences. They go to the morgue where Rebecca works, and attend a concert where they end up in the mosh pit together; Edie even dyes Rebecca's hair. Leilani captures all these moments through Edie's narration, which thrums with observational humor. While watching Rebecca do yoga, Edie stares at her and remembers when she saw her unclothed: "It bothers me that she doesn't wear prettier underwear, that her marriage is inscrutable and involved, and that I am somewhere inside it."

A tense meditation on attention—and why we crave it

The two women orbit around each other, shifting their dynamic as they each seek control over the same man. But *Luster* is not a novel concerned with romantic drama. It's all about attention—why we crave it and what forms it takes. Leilani carefully pulls the strings of Edie, Rebecca, Eric and Akila, revealing how lonely they all are. Though each is desperate for connection in different ways, their isolation only festers.

In seeking to understand who she is to each member of the family, Edie is forced to reckon with her race, sexuality and power. The result plays out through moments unsettling and surreal, carried by the breathless voice of a woman trying to find direction. ◻

Luster *is Leilani's first book*

7 Questions

Bubba Wallace The NASCAR driver on his sport's Confederate-flag ban, the President's Twitter attack and how unity gets done

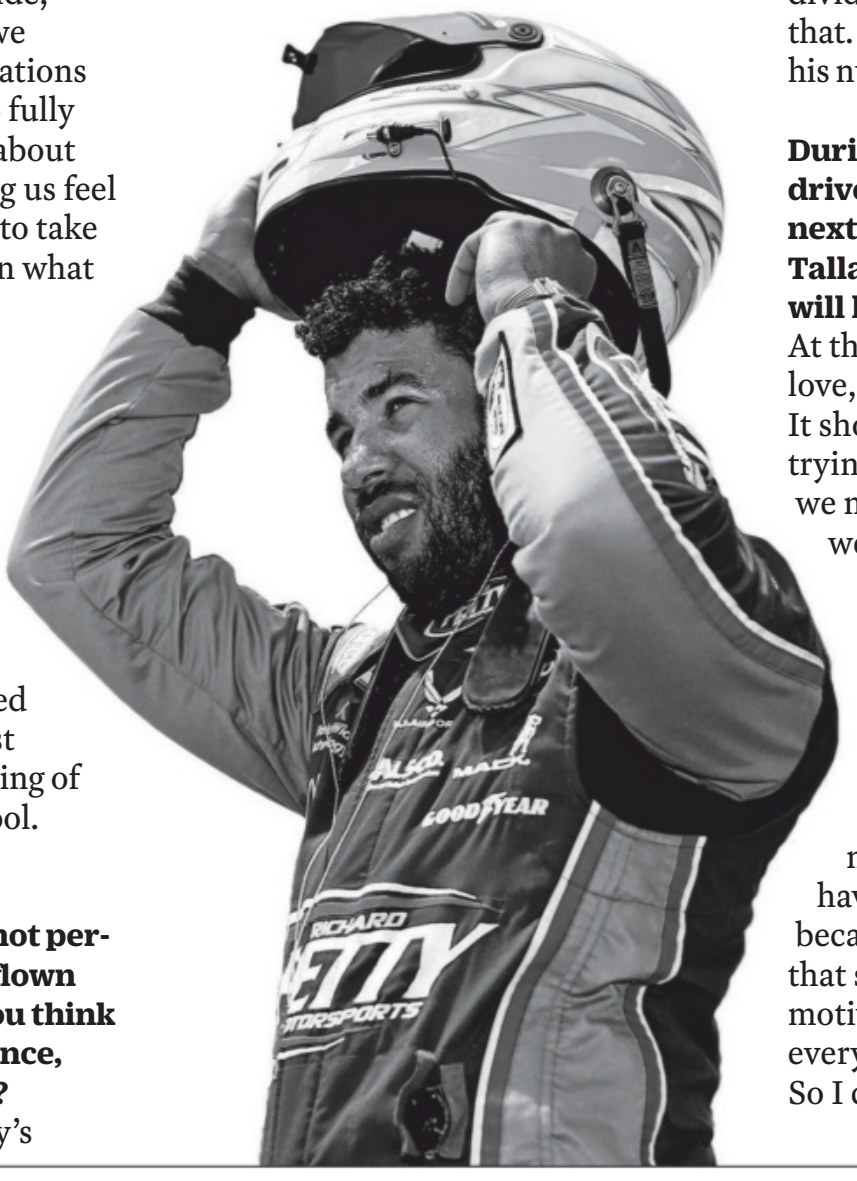
After the death of George Floyd, you called for an outright ban of the Confederate flag at NASCAR events, a policy that was quickly enacted. You recently wrote that you had grown "numb" to the presence of the Confederate flag at races. Why? It just was always there. And I never understood the history behind it and how it made certain people feel. I had the pest-control guy come by yesterday, and he was like, "Man, I appreciate everything you're doing." He's never gone to a race because of the flag. And now he plans on going. He's African American. I thought that was pretty powerful.

What lessons have you learned during these past few weeks? It's very hard for people to understand that one side of the flag means hatred and everything bad. The other side, it's heritage with the South. So we had to have those tough conversations with those people to get them to fully understand, Hey, this isn't only about you. It's about everybody making us feel welcome. And if you don't want to take the time to understand that, then what type of human being are you?

Despite NASCAR's Confederate-flag ban, someone flew it, for example, over the Bristol Motor Speedway in July. Did you see that, and what was your reaction? We were a mile and a half, two miles out from the speedway, and you could see it. I pointed it out to my girlfriend, and we just laughed, and I didn't think anything of it after that. Just like, All right, cool.

The Defense Department just announced a policy that does not permit the Confederate flag to be flown on military installations. Do you think your stance, and NASCAR's stance, had something to do with that? I would say so. I think everybody's trying to come together to make the world a better place. You're not going to be able to do that with Confederate flags being flown.

"DESPITE THE STIGMAS WE MAY HAVE, THIS IS A FAMILY SPORT, AND WE WELCOME WITH OPEN ARMS"



CHRIS GRAYTHEN—GETTY IMAGES

In June, a noose was found in your garage at Talladega; an FBI investigation determined that the noose had been there since at least last October and no hate crime was committed. On Twitter, President Trump suggested that you apologize and called the incident a "HOAX." You wrote in response: "always deal with the hate being thrown at you with LOVE! ... Even when it's HATE from the POTUS." Why do you think the President's tweet contained hate? It's like, Dude, you don't even know your facts. You're going off bogus information when the facts are right there in front of you. To come up with that, it feels like it's to alienate and divide. It just wasn't the right time for that. So I guess he was just trying to get his numbers up through this.

During the investigation, a sea of drivers and crew members walked next to and behind your car at Talladega. Do you think that moment will have lasting power? For sure. At the end of the day, it showed a lot of love, compassion and understanding. It showed unity. That's what our sport is trying to represent. Despite the stigmas we may have, this is a family sport, and we welcome with open arms.

Has your rising profile added more pressure to win? I can't just let what I'm doing off the track be my legacy. There are comments out there that a person who's never won is being more of an icon than people that have won—that I'm using [activism] because I can't win. It's tough to read that stuff. So there's nothing that's more motivating to go out there and compete every weekend, to go out and get a win. So I can just shut everybody up.

—SEAN GREGORY

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